

THE

GREAT QUESTIONS OF THE TIMES,

BRIEF REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

AT THE GREAT

INAUGURAL MASS MEETING

OF THE

LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE,

IN

UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK,

ON

THE ANNIVERSARY OF SUMTER,

APRIL 11TH, 1863.

(A full Report of the Proceedings, including all the speeches, and letters from distinguished citizens in all quarters of the Union, is published in another book.)

NEW YORK:

PRINTED FOR THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE

1863.

E463

L93



THE GREAT QUESTIONS OF THE TIMES!

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

Great Inaugural Mass Meeting

OF THE

LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE,

ON UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK,

ON

THE ANNIVERSARY OF SUMTER.

PRINTED FOR THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

The Sumter Rally on the 11th April at Union Square, was a triumphant gathering of the loyal people of the Empire City. The weather was fine; the concourse immense; the speeches patriotic and eloquent. Six stands were erected on the Square for the accommodation of the orators and musicians, and upon each of these were flags of stars, with appropriate mottoes and devices. The magnificent statue of Washington was decorated with a rosette of red, white, and blue, with streamers, and trimmed with evergreens. The vast assemblage of people pouring in from every street at an early hour surged about the stands, forming a sea of upturned faces beaming with patriotic devotion to their country. Many of the public buildings and large edifices on Broadway and other parts of the city had the National flag flying during the day. Capt. Mowbray and Henry Brewster each sent a brass piece, from which a salute of one hundred and fifty guns was fired. The police arrangements, under Inspector Carpenter, were all that could be desired, and the utmost order was preserved throughout the day. It was a magnificent mass meeting of the loyal citizens of New-York, who, forgetting their party associations and political predilections, made haste to show their allegiance to the flag which had been struck from its staff by Rebel cannon at Fort Sumter two years ago. We do not disparage the other distinguished gentlemen when we say that Gen. Fremont and Gen. Sigel were the lions of the day. These men had been baptized with fire on the field of battle, and had shown their patriotism by personal exposure in front of the enemy. When the speaking commenced, Union Square presented an imposing and animated scene. Here the white locks of Daniel S. Dickinson were streaming in the wind, while his pungent sentences stirred the souls of his auditors with intense emotions; there Gov. Morton of Indiana reasoned of the righteousness of our cause and the judgment that will come upon traitors, while Gens. Fremont and Sigel, at different stands, but almost within hearing of each other, moved their hearers with a spirit of

enthusiasm which was expressed in cheer upon cheer and sentiments of high commendation. Handkerchiefs and flags were waved by the fair hands of ladies who filled the doorways, windows, and balconies that border the Square, and the booming cannon seemed to give emphasis to the sentiments so spiritedly applauded. The short pauses between the speeches were filled with music that chimed harmoniously with the masterly eloquence of the speakers. Although the news from Charleston was not satisfactory, the hope and the faith of the people were unshaken, and their determination to wipe out the Rebellion, at whatever cost of blood and treasure, was firm and strong as on the day of the Sumter outrage.

STAND No. 1.

Speeches of the Hon. Montgomery Blair, the Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, and Others.

Stand No. 1 was placed immediately in front of the statue of Washington. Long before the commencement a great mass of people collected beneath the inspiration of the Father of their Country, and before 11 a. m. the auditors at this stand were numbered by thousands. A salute was fired by the workmen in the employ of Mr. Henry Brewster from two 6-pounders. This stand was provided with a paraboloid sound-reflector, which throws the voice of a speaker much further than it will otherwise go, and renders speaking in the open air comparatively easy. This is a contrivance of Col. Grant of calcium-light celebrity.

After a grand march from "Le Prophete," by Grafulla's Band, Mr. GEORGE GRISWOLD called the meeting to order, and nominated Mayor Opdyke to preside. His nomination was received with enthusiasm.

On taking the chair, the MAYOR made a few remarks on the occasion and its memories, which were received with great applause. He concluded by introducing the hero of the Harriet Lane, Robert Cummings, the brave sailor boy who fired the last shots after she had been boarded by the Rebels. The sturdy little tar mounted upon a chair, in obedience to the calls of the multitude, and was loudly cheered.

Mr. GEORGE GRISWOLD then read the address of

the League, prepared by Dr. Lieber. It was received with frequent cheers.

Mr. S. B. CHITTENDEN proposed the following

RESOLUTIONS.

I. *Resolved*, That, assembled on the anniversary of the assault on Sumter, and reviewing the two years that have since elapsed, in the advance which our government has made from the position of unexampled weakness to which it had been reduced by inebriety and treachery, we recognize the wondrous vitality and strength of our republican institutions, based upon the will of an intelligent and free people. At their voice a million of men have sprung into arms. An effective navy has been suddenly created, and the monstrous expenses of a mighty war have been promptly and cheerfully met without borrowing a dollar from the capitalists of Europe, or asking assistance from any nation upon earth.

That the feeling of loyal America, in view of all the difficulties of the case, has deepened into the firm and clear conviction that the rebellion can be crushed, ought to be crushed, and shall be crushed; and that the last Congress, in placing at the disposal of the Executive, without stint, the men, money, and resources of the nation, was the true exponent of the devotion and loyalty of the American people, and of their indelible determination to preserve unimpaired the national unity, both in principle and territory, against armed traitors in the South, their aiders and abettors in the North, and their piratical allies in Great Britain.

II. *Resolved*, That, apart from the treachery that has lurked, and which we fear still lurks, in the civil and military departments of the government, we believe that the errors and delays that have hitherto retarded the prosecution of the war, and the success of our arms, have arisen from the erroneous belief that the rebels have possessed certain constitutional rights which the national government was bound to respect.

That the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the nation, resolving, by the solemn adjudication of that high tribunal, to whose judgment the American people are accustomed to bow, a constitutional doubt as to the character of the war in which the nation is engaged, leaves no place hereafter for any such mistake on the part of any officer, civil, military, or naval, since the judicial declaration that the territory occupied by the rebels is "enemy's territory"; and all persons residing within this territory, whose property may be used to increase the revenues of the hostile power, are in the condition to be treated as enemies, though not foreigners," has defined beyond all question the rights and duty of the government and the people.

That, in accordance with the principles of that decision, now to be recognized as the law of the land, the war should henceforth be waged with a single aim to the conquest of the rebel lion, with the least delay and the smallest burthen to the nation at large, by depriving the enemy of his strength and his resources in whatever way they may consist, by appropriating his property wherever it may be convenient, and by withdrawing from his support, enrolling in our ranks, and treating as soldiers of the Republic, all loyal men to be found in the South, without regard to race, creed, or complexion.

III. *Resolved*, That when, on the day on whose solemn anniversary we are gathered together, the rebels of the South boasted that they had inaugurated war against the republic, that they had humbled the stars and stripes, and that their confederate counterfeited our flag would soon float even over Faneuil Hall, the American people rallied in defence of that national unity which had been their glory at home and their safeguard abroad; and while they have maintained the ancient honor of their flag on many a well-contested field, and will maintain it, until it again floats over Sumter, and wherever it has floated in the past; they, nevertheless, have recognized, and do now recognize, the fact that the rebellion was not organized by the people of the South, but by their bad and ambitious leaders, who, armed with the muniments of war filched from the national government, precipitated the revolution upon the Southern States.

That we also recognize the fact that the object of those leaders is to establish a military or monarchial government, sustained by an organized and cemented aristocracy, in which the principles of democracy should be utterly ignored, its fundamental doctrine of "the greatest good of the greatest number" should be discarded as a pestilent and pernicious dogma, and the rights and happiness of the majority of the citizens be sacrificed to the interests of a few slaveholders.

That we further recognize the fact that, with this intent, Slavery was made the chief corner-stone of the Southern confederacy, and, in the remorseless conscription for their army, persons holding twenty slaves are exempt, while the non-slaveholders are made to bear the burthen of a war intended to impoverish and degrade them. And we gladly remember that in the overthrow of that bastard confederacy, and the uprooting of its corner-stone, will be concerned, not simply the welfare of the nation at large, but the future peace, prosperity, and happiness of the South; that in its future results the war for the Union will be one, not of subjugation, but of deliverance; and that, as regards all classes in the rebel States, excepting only the leaders of the rebellion, our triumph will be their gain.

IV. *Resolved*, That in view of the recent conduct of the British government, in permitting a piratical vessel to be built, equipped, and manned in British ports, for the use of the Southern confederates, and to go forth under the British flag, in disregard of the remonstrances of the American minister, accompanied by ample proof of the character of the vessel, to prey upon American commerce, and plunder and burn defenceless merchant ships, receiving the while the hospitalities of British colonial ports, it is proper for us to reassert to the British government and the British people the contrast between such a violation of international neutrality, and the honorable fidelity and promptness which the American government, from its foundation, has uniformly observed toward the government of Great Britain.

The example set by Washington in observing, in regard to England, the strictest neutrality in her war with France; the peremptory instruction given by Hamilton, when Secretary of the Treasury, to the collectors of our ports to exercise "the greatest vigilance, care, activity, and impartiality, in searching for and discovering any attempt to fit out vessels or expeditions in aid of either party;" the action of our Government, on the suggestion of Mr. Hammond, the British Minister, in seizing a vessel that was being fitted out as a French privateer; the restoration to the British Government of the British ship "Grange," taken by the French in American waters; the equipment by President Jefferson, in 1805, of a force to cruise within our own seas and arrest vessels embarking in a war in which the country had no part, and "bring in the offenders for trial as pirates;" and the prompt fidelity with which succeeding Presidents have performed their duty in this regard, especially toward Great Britain, down to its Canadian rebellion in 1838, and its war with Russia in 1854, the facts of which are fresh in their recollection,—complete a record that entitles the American Government to the fairest exercise, on the part of England, of the neutrality she professes in the pending war with the Southern Confederates. That apart from the fact that the aid thus extended in England to the Confederate cause, without interference by the government, in defiance of the sentiments of the civilized world, to a pretended government, which boasts as its corner-stone human slavery, it is the sentiment of this meeting that the Government of the United States should make the most urgent appeal to the honor of the British Government, to the justice of the British courts, and the moral sense of the British people, to provide a remedy for these outrages, and avert the possibility of a conflict between two nations who should be united by all the ties that spring from a common ancestry and a common civilization.

V. *Resolved*, That we cannot separate on an occasion like the present, when we again catch the echoes of cannon thundering against Sumter, without recalling, with swelling pride and affectionate regard, our brave army and navy, wherever gathered for the defence of the country, and especially those that attract the gaze of the world on the Cooper, the Appahannock, and the Mississippi.

That, to protect the rights of our gallant defenders is the grateful duty of all true Americans; and that we heartily approve the judicious Act of our Legislature to secure them their privilege of a vote, while we leave to the scorn they deserve, those men recalcitrant to the first principles of democracy, who, ready to abet the enemies of their country, even by invoking intervention from a British minister, with a base consistency, would wrest from our citizen-soldiers the right to pass upon such disloyal conduct.

VI. *Resolved*, That, with the view of advising the National Government of the earnest devotion of the loyal masses here assembled, and of their decided views in regard to the manner in which this war should be prosecuted, a copy of these resolutions be respectfully addressed to the President and each member of his Cabinet, to whom, by acclamation, we wish God-speed in their glorious work of maintaining the unity, the freedom, and the supremacy of our common country.

The reading of the resolutions was interrupted by applause, and they were adopted by acclamation.

Mr. GRISWOLD read, amid great applause, extracts from the letters of Gen. Scott, Gen. Halleck, Gen. Hooker, Archbishop Hughes and Gov. Tod. The following is the letter from Gen. Hooker:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
April 9, 1863.

To JAS. A. ROOSEVELT, Secretary *Loyal League*:

SIR: Acknowledging the receipt of an invitation to be present at a mass meeting of the loyal citizens of the United States, to be held at New York on the 11th instant, I have occasion to regret that my duties will not permit me to be present at that important assemblage.

Permit me, however, to express my hearty sympathy with the objects and purposes of the proposed demonstration, and to desire that my name may be placed with those who so love their country, its Union and its Constitution, as to be glad to renew pledges of loyalty and fealty as often as circumstances will demand.

The frequent assembling together of our countrymen for

purposes of counsel and interchange of thought upon the great national question of the day is one of the useful and commendable duties of the times, which has my best wishes, as it has those of all honest and loyal men.

The army which I have the honor to command is, I am proud to say, in such good heart and in so excellent a condition that I am warranted in pledging it to a gallant blow for the defence of our national unity and integrity, whenever the enemy shall be met by the Army of the Potomac.

That God may speed the cause of the Union and popular liberty everywhere, is the hopeful aspiration of

Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH HOOKER,
Major-General Commanding.

The Mayor then said:

I have now the honor of introducing to you a gentleman who is part and parcel of the Government—a distinguished member of the Administration—a gentleman of Southern birth and Southern associations, but whose heart beats as loyal as yours or mine. I have the pleasure of presenting to you the Hon. Montgomery Blair. [Great applause, and "three cheers for Blair."]

SPEECH OF MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

Mr. BLAIR said: Fellow-citizens of New York, I am gratified to meet so vast an assemblage, and to unite with you in doing honor to the glorious cause which we have met here to pledge ourselves to support. This, my friends, is a most appropriate occasion upon which to renew our pledges to that flag which has come down to us with so many hallowed memories associated with the founders of this Government. The day upon which an attempt was made to subvert this Government is a day to be remembered; it is a day to be remembered, and I hope with the treatment which we are going to give the traitors, that we will make it to be remembered by them for eternity. [Cheers. "Good!"] The contest in which we are engaged is a struggle for the great idea underlying our political fabric, and as we live in an age when opinion is the great element of power, it is essential to our success that the true nature of the struggle should be comprehended by good men at home and abroad. Some reference to the parties to it may contribute to effect this object. From the outset the oligarchic interest everywhere has been at no loss on which side to range itself. Everywhere it has identified itself with the Rebellion because it battled in the cause of privilege and against free Government, and everywhere it has exerted itself promptly, yet skillfully, to support the Rebel cause. Wielding vast power in all European Governments, controlling the whole foreign press and some of our own, and assuming from the first mutterings of the tempest that our ship of State was a wreck, as they had always predicted it would be, they have looked on only to find facts to sustain a foregone conclusion and otherwise to exert all the power they could wield to consummate their wishes. I do not in thus speaking of this class, and especially of the European branch of it, wish to be understood as impeaching their motives or questioning the sincerity of their conviction that in the preservation of their own and kindred orders they are doing the best for mankind. As individuals, and especially is this true of the British aristocracy, they are distinguished by a high sense of honor, by courage, truthfulness and other many qualities. But these personal characteristics only serve to give more effect to a mistaken policy in antagonism to freedom and free government, which results necessarily from the relation to society to which they are born and bred. They justly feel that the continuance of such a Government as ours saps the foundation of their order day by day, and hence, though we meddle not in their affairs this class has warred upon us from the day we set up our democratic establishment in the wilds of America. For the most part this war has been carried on in the field of opinion by writers hired to combat the natural yearnings of the human heart for liberty. We have replied only by continuing to minister to human happiness, giving free homes to the oppressed, elevating the poor by in-

struction in free schools and by having the Gospel preached to all creeds. There was one point, however, upon which every letter-writer and book-making tourist who catered to the appetite of the established orders for American disparagement failed not to comment with the greatest harshness. That was, that we tolerated African Slavery. So bitter have been these denunciations that many persons supposed, when the war broke out, that the English aristocrats for once would have to be on the side of those who were struggling for free government. Far from it. Like most of those among us who are now signaling themselves by denouncing the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the Conscription act, &c., their advocacy of freedom was, as we now see, only to serve the cause of Slavery. It was for the freedom we cherished, not for the Slavery we tolerated, they reviled us. See these proud aristocrats now, urging the slave-drivers at Richmond with iron-clad ships to strike down Freedom, forgetting even the insults offered a few years since by their present allies, the Richmond snobbery, to the heir apparent of the English crown! But do not suppose that by pointing to the evidences of sympathy and alliance between these domestic and foreign foes of free government, I seek to stir you to wrath against England. Far from it; for while it is true that in all essentials the British peer and our vulgar Masous and Slidells and the silly women who insult Union soldiers are the same order of people, differing only in cultivation and external circumstances, but agreeing in the distinguishing characteristic of having no faith in humanity; yet you must remember that these worldlings do not rule either in England or America. Despite of their opposition, Slavery was struck down in the British realm, and despite of them the great Republic will be saved, and the slave machinery applied to subvert it destroyed. I feel assured of this, because not only our own people, but the people of Europe, are beginning to understand, what I have said the aristocrats everywhere have understood from the first, that this is a battle for common people throughout the world, and that they now are, or soon will be, ready to make common cause for freedom against the wide-spread conspiracy of aristocrats to destroy it. It is true that Lord Lyons tells his Government that our "Democratic leaders" came stealthily to him and made known their wish and purpose "to put an end to the war, even at the risk of losing the Southern States altogether," but "that it was not thought prudent to avow this desire, and that some hints of it, dropped before the elections, were so ill received, that a strong declaration in the contrary sense was deemed necessary by the Democratic leaders." Lord Lyons further states that these Democratic "leaders" thought "that the offer of mediation, if made to a Radical Administration, would be rejected—that if made at an unpropitious moment, it might increase the virulence with which the war is prosecuted. If their own party were in power, or virtually controlled the Administration, they would rather, if possible, obtain an armistice without the aid of foreign Governments; but they would be disposed to accept an offer of mediation, if it appeared to be the only means of putting a stop to hostilities. They would desire that the offer should come from the great Powers of Europe, conjointly; and, in particular, that as little prominence as possible should be given to Great Britain." This is the sum of his lordship's revelations, and if it were not that he entirely mistakes the character and influence of his men they might be ominous of the result which he and the British Ministry so confidently predict and devoutly wish. If the "chiefs" whom he describes as "calling loudly for a more vigorous prosecution of the war, and reproaching the Government with slackness as well as with want of success in its military measures," but telling him that it was their wish "to put an end to it at the risk of losing the Southern States altogether," were really as able as

he supposes they are to bring the true Democracy of the North to adopt the plans of the Secessionists for the extension of Slavery to make it the foundation of the political institutions of the country, or to assent to the division of the country—resigning one half of it to Slavery—then, indeed, might the enemies of popular government indulge their fond hope that the bright prospects which opened on the birthday of free institutions in the New World, and have attended its progress to this hour, would soon close. But it is apparent even from the narrative of the worthy and truly honorable representative of England, that “the leaders” who conferred with him were conscious that they could not lead their party to sanction their purposes, that they were forced to disavow them, and advised postponement of the offer of mediation till *they* should come into power, which they only hoped to secure by “calling loudly for a more vigorous prosecution of the war, and reproaching the Government with slackness as well as with want of success in its military measures!” But the immense popular assemblies which have everywhere denounced mediation of any sort show that no such jugglery would avail. The most distinguished leaders of the Democracy in this great commonwealth attended the vast meeting of the 6th of March. They are here again to-night. They unite in council with the members of the Republican party, with the chiefs of the old Whig party, with those of the original Anti-Slavery party, with the American party, particularly jealous of foreign influence, and with those of other strong classes which embrace with a sort of kindred sympathy the naturalized citizens of all Europe as brothers enfranchised from feudal fetters, and rising here to usefulness and influence as the equals of the native born freeman. Every party and every class by whom free institutions are held dear in this country, merging all minor differences of opinion, are gathering in every quarter to devise measures to restore the nationality, secure the liberties of the country, and to give effect to these, the shouts of battle from a million of brave men are heard by land and sea. They see the feudal lords who hold the slaves in the South in bondage, to raise the commodities on which the laborers of the feudal lords in Europe are to exhaust their energies to exalt their privileged orders, are supported by such orders because of a common interest in the enslavement of mankind. And if the vassalage which holds the black race as mere animated machines, and is rapidly reducing the poor whites of the South to a dependence and suffering, rendering the fate of the slave of a kind master enviable—if such vassalage is to be upheld by the great modern dynasties abroad, combining their military power to give support to the despotic principle in a nation separated from them by the ocean, how long will it be before such armed usurpation here will, by its reactionary force, recover the arbitrary power that belonged to the age of the Bourbons, the Tudors, and of that horde of feudal proprietors who monopolized the soil, holding the people as serfs appertenant to the domain of masters, rising as a superstructure of oppression through grades from barons, counts, dukes, princes, kings, and emperors to autocrats? Our Southern chivalry, which but a generation back signed our Magna Charta of liberty and equality, in the course of one lifetime, by the indoctrination of the Slave system, working on one poor oppressed caste, are already prepared to join the Holy Alliance abroad in making a partition of this continent and setting up dynasties deriving their type from the Congress of Vienna, and they have an improved feature on the old feudal system, tending to reinvigorate it. In that State which led off in the assault upon the Union, the ownership of ten slaves, or an equivalent, was an essential qualification for a legislator. Carrying out this principle, the Confederate Congress has decreed that twenty slaves shall exempt the master from military service. This will operate as a premium for multiplying slaves and divide the community into two great classes, the producers and the soldiery; creating a

military government, one portion of the people to fight, the other to feed the fighters. The starving whites not suited to war and not subjected as soldiers will become slaves to the owners of estates on whom they must depend. That the crowned heads of Europe, who are invited to make the political constitutions of this continent, as well as its cotton, their concern, should have a disposition to admit States into the Holy Alliance which gives such earnest of hostility to free government, is not unnatural. But what will the more enlightened portion of the European population think of this continuation with slaveholders to extirpate liberty in America? The organs of the privileged orders in Great Britain, the *Quarterly Review*, *The Times*, &c., already congratulated their patrons on the fact that Rebellion here has arrested Reform in England. They proclaim that Lords Palmerston and Russell reached their power in England by pledges of reform, and now they rejoice that the Rebellion has exonerated them from their obligation! They would now, for the third time, attempt to crush the free principles which, nurtured here beyond the reach of despotic coalitions, has attained a prosperity, spreading an influence back to the country of their origin, reforming their Government and elevating their people; and it is in the interest of the selfish few that the progress of nations in reform, in freedom and happiness, is to be arrested. Is it possible that a great war, waged by the potentates of Europe, in alliance with the slave system propagated in the South, against the Free States of America, will be cordially supported by the substantial, intelligent body of the European populations? Can Lord Lyons persuade himself or them that there are Democratic leaders in the Free States capable of drawing the Democratic masses to join foreign powers in mediating a peace dividing the empire of free government on this continent with Slavery, European sovereigns to hold the balance of the continent? No patriot, no honest man of any party, no Democrat of influence with a party which has never been wanting to the country when its fortunes hung upon the scale of battle, could have made the questions which were submitted to Lord Lyons. Davis, Benjamin, Floyd and Toombs call themselves Democrats. Their emissaries in Europe, Shidell, Sanders and Mason, call themselves Democrats. Their creatures in the Free States, Buchanan, Toney, and the subaltern traitors associated with them, spared by the clemency of the Administration, call themselves Democrats. But these men in the North are only so many men on gibbets. The real Democrats everywhere are with the real Republicans, in arms for their country and its Constitution. It is not the interest of nations to destroy each other, and I hope no nation will interpose in any way to countenance the treason which has no object but the overthrow of republican institutions. The only effect would be to embitter and prolong the strife. England especially, which has some consciousness of the value of such institutions, and has evinced a full sense of the mischiefs of the slave power now seeking her help to sacrifice them here, will, I doubt not, recoil from the leprous touch. There was a time, indeed, when even that very class of Englishmen who would now see the Great Republic fall with so much satisfaction, looked toward it with very different feelings. It was when they apprehended invasion from France. Then the Free States of this continent, proud of their race and of the inspiration, responded to the patriotic heart of Britain. They did not intend to be passive while “the Latin race” established their ascendancy in the fatherland. At that dread crisis English statesmen recognized the value of this kindred sympathy, and honored the magnanimity which, forgetting the oppression dealt to us as an infant people aspiring to equality with their brethren beyond the Atlantic—remembering only the glory of a common lineage, language, and literature—they felt, and with reason, that the mutual abhorrence of Slavery in whatever form im-

posed, would induce the Government of the United States to make common cause with England against any attempt to invade or enslave her. But now that their apprehensions of danger from across the Channel are for the time allayed, and they feel no present need of help, the feeling for America, which for a moment expanded the hearts even of the English lordlings, has passed away. They have become as earnest as in '76 to overthrow our Government, and are co-operating with the Rebels, as with the Tories, in every possible way short of declared war, and have clearly evinced their disposition to take even that step whenever we will give them a pretext for it which will carry the people of England with them. We cannot therefore be too careful not to furnish the desired pretext, especially when the people of Europe as well as of America are awakening to their interest in this struggle. We had better suffer for a time from the pirates set afloat in England, and harbored and provisioned in their West India possessions, to devastate our commerce, to enable the English nation to put a stop to these outrages. I have confidence that they will do it, and I much prefer the mode adopted by the real noblemen of New York to touch the hearts of the real nobility of England—the men who love truth and justice—to whom alone she owes her greatness among the nations of the earth—to that proposed by my friend, General Butler. To send the starving poor of England cargoes of food, while her aristocrats are turning loose upon us piratical vessels, tells more than words can express of the nature of this struggle and who are allies in it. I will venture to affirm that the mediating leaders who visited the British Minister in November are not among those who, while exhibiting such magnificence toward his countrymen, were lavishing millions to sustain free government, although most of them are Democrats. The Rebellion here, this reactionary measure against free government, reacts across the water, stops all progress, all beneficence and reform for the people of Europe. That is the nature of this contest. You cannot, therefore, if you love yourselves, your rights, and the rights of those whom you are to leave behind you, if you love your brothers in fatherland, and wish to have an asylum for them, and to extend the principles of liberty in the old continent, you cannot but stand up for the Government you have installed here, regardless for the moment of whom you have placed in power. I am a member, as my friend said, of the existing Government, and I say to you here, although its measures may not meet the approval of some of you, yet, rely upon it, you have as honest a man as ever God made installed in the chair of the Chief Magistrate. [Loud applause.] We have a man from the people, like many of those I see before me, having a heart sympathetic for the masses, a man working his way from an humble and obscure position up to the elevated position that he now fills, and, of course, he feels, and feels deeply, as one of you, the nature of the struggle that I have been endeavoring to paint. You must support him, my friends. It is your cause; not his. [Three cheers for the President.] Thanking you again, my friends, for the cordiality and kindness with which you have been pleased to receive me, I give way to others who can add much to what I have said, and say it better. [Prolonged cheers.]

Calls for "Butler" and "Fremont."

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, JR., read the letter from Secretary Chase. It was received with frequent applause.

Loud calls for "Fremont."

MAYOR OPDYKE—Gentlemen, I have now the pleasure of introducing to you a distinguished and eloquent representative in Congress from a sister State, a gentleman who has stood by the Government manfully and fearlessly; I introduce to you Judge Kelley of Philadelphia. [Loud applause.]

SPEECH OF THE HON. W. D. KELLEY.

Judge KELLEY said: In the name of unconditional loyalty to the Constitution, Philadelphia greets New York. [Cheers.] In the name of the unity of that country, founded by the original of that grand monument [the statue of Washington was immediately in front of the stand], the Keystone sends greeting to the Empire State. [Applause.] And this after two years of war—two years of war! We of Pennsylvania have tears for the dead, sympathy for the mangled and the bereaved, but these are for our individual hearts, our private circles; for our country we have but pride and devotion [cheering "Good, good"]; two years of war in which the Ruler of Providence has more clearly than ever before in history, demonstrated how from seeming evil He is educing good, how within His purposes it is to make the folly and wrath of men to praise Him [cheers]; two years in which the American people have made more of glorious history than ever was made before in the same brief period. O, my countrymen, look back over that little period of two years and remember when in the first wild outburst of wounded and indignant patriotism you gathered to this square. Your country was bankrupt; you could not borrow at one per cent a month the little sum of \$5,000,000; your navy lay in Southern yards in ordinary, upon the distant coast of Africa or in the far Pacific; your army was on the frontiers of Texas, in New Mexico, in the far Territory of Washington, everywhere but where your Government could command it; your arsenals emptied alike of arms and ammunition and accoutrements; an enemy, strengthened by your navy and by your military resources, had fired upon your flag and threatened to unfurl from the dome of your capitol a foreign banner, but the heart of America did not tremble, and two years of war, even disasters, has not chilled or bated our patriotism. [Cheers, "No, no."] We are here to-day to say that no star must be stricken from our flag ["Never"]; no acre of our country surrendered if it takes from our lockers the last dollar and from our hearth-sides the last able-bodied boy. [Cheers, "Hurrah."] These are the sentiments of Pennsylvania, and I am glad you respond to them with such fervor. We behold all the possible consequences of the war; we have made a navy; we have made an army such as the eye of God never beheld before upon this planet; we have conquered in two years well-nigh 400,000 square miles of territory. ["Good! good!"] We have not borrowed of England or the Continent, or any foreign man or nation, one penny toward bearing the expense. [Applause.] Oh, my friends, this is a proud day. We had demonstrated, before Rebel hands desecrated our flag, the beneficence of republican institutions. In eighty short years we had conquered a Continent. Yes, our flag floated on yon Eastern promontories in the broad bays of the noon-day sun, while there on our golden sands, the morning dawn just tipped its stars, and all was ours, and civilization was blooming over all. We had demonstrated the capacity of man for self-government and of popular institutions, raised the poor emigrant and his children to the full stature of manhood and to all the powers and rights of citizenship, nay, to the capacity not only to enjoy, but to exercise them all. [Cheers.] The potentates of Europe had seen the peasant and the laborer expand into the citizen and the capitalist; they had seen from the humblest walks of life the man of honor, wealth, and distinction spring. Eighty years had served to demonstrate this. But, was their sneer—a good Government for peace, yet no Government for war. Is it not a Government for war? When Congress passed what the Copperheads call the Conscription bill, and served notice upon France and England that every man who had not depending upon him, and him alone, aged parents or tender childhood, should be called to

the field, they concluded that all Europe in alliance would not do to meet the American people under that Government which was not good for war. [Cheers.] So good for war that, while we go on to conquer those who are armed with our resources, we hold the envious aristocracy of Europe in check, and dare them to do their worst [cheers], and dare them so defiantly, that I refer you to the New York papers of the day for the altered opinion of Lord John Russell, as expressed in the House of Lords. [Cheers. "Give it to him!" "Bully!" "Bully for the American people. [Cheers.] Bully for those institutions ["Bully for Kelley"] that open the school-house for the poor child, and give a just return for all the labor that he or his parents perform. What is this war? What is it about? Between whom is it, men of New York? ["Three cheers for Kelley."] No, do not cheer so insignificant a being; keep quiet, and hear him. Is it between political parties? No; here on this stand are men of all parties. I do not know what party I belong to. I was fool or sinner enough to hasten home in 1852 to vote for Frank Pierce, and since then I have been fighting for freedom and civilization in the ranks of the Republican party. [Cheers; "Good."] No, my friends, not between political parties; nor is it between contending States. The line seems to divide States, but take the exception. East Tennessee and West Virginia are loyal as New York or Pennsylvania ["Good, good"], though one of them lies south of Kentucky, and the other has been held by Eastern Virginia, as Russia holds Poland, or as England has held Ireland. [Cheers.] Yet they are loyal. It is a war between two orders of civilization—the order of civilization which we enjoy, which opens a school-house to every child coming into the commonwealth by birth or emigration; which gives to the son of the poorest laborer, whether of native or foreign birth, the mastery of the English language, the art of writing and of figures, and enables him to go forth and arm himself with knowledge, and wisdom, and power to contend with the world and get a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. The other order of civilization is one which holds that capital should own its labor; that laboring men and women should be held for sale and purchase like cattle in the stall or upon the shambles. And, my friends, do not let us blink the question. The taking of Fort Sumter, the taking of Vicksburg, will not settle the war. One or the other of these orders of civilization must be victorious, triumphant over the whole land before you can have peace. [Cheers. "That's the talk."] You have heard from Secretary Chase. Like him, I am for letting the darkey in. I do not think he is a bit better than I or you, and I do not see why he should not do picket duty in the swamps as well as I or my son. I do not see why he should not work for us as ably as he worked for his enemy, and I am for letting him in, and letting him, under the Stars and Stripes, win his way to freedom by proving on the bloody field the power of his manhood. ["Bravo." Applause.] This we have to do. This we will do. And having done it, we will—having sunk the traitors, from Fernando up or down, whichever it might be—[laughter and applause]—we will have sunk them deeper than ever plummet sounded; we will have so squelched treason that our children and our children's children to the latest generation will never fear another civil war. We will have peace with England and with France, and, what is more, we will have demonstrated to the world the power as well as the beneficence of republican institutions; we will have shown the world that that Constitution framed under his [pointing to the statue of Washington] wise auspices is not only beneficent over a young and peaceful people, but is a fit canopy—I say is a fit canopy for a continent. [Loud and prolonged applause, and three cheers for Kelley]

Loud calls for "Fremont."

The Mayor, amid loud applause, introduced Brig.-Gen. Crawford of Penn., one of the defenders of Fort Sumter under Major Anderson.

Speeches were subsequently made by Benj. H.

Brewster, esq., of Philadelphia; Col. Stewart L. Woodford, Col. Taylor, and ex-Councilman Horatio N. Wild; and an ode was read by William Ross Wallace; after which, as the shades of night were falling, the Mayor adjourned the meeting, with loud cheers for the Union and the Star-Spangled Banner.

ADDRESS BY FRANCIS LIEBER, CHAIRMAN ON THE COUNCIL'S COMMITTEE ON ADDRESSES.

*Read at the Meeting of the Loyal National League,
by their request, in Union Square, New York,
on the 11th of April, 1863.*

It is just and wise that men engaged in a great and arduous cause should profess anew, from time to time, their faith, and pledge themselves to one another, to stand by their cause to the last extremity, even at the sacrifice of all they have and all that God has given them—their wealth, their blood, and their children's blood. We solemnly pledge all this to our cause, for it is the cause of our country and her noble history, of freedom, and justice, and truth—it is the cause of all we hold dearest on this earth: we profess and pledge this—plainly, broadly, openly, in the cheering time of success, and most fervently in the day of trial and reverses.

We recollect how, two years ago, when reckless arrogance attacked Fort Sumter, the response to that boom of treasonable cannon was read, in our city, in the flag of our country—waving from every steeple and school-house, from City Hall and court house, from every shop window and market-stall, and fluttering in the hand of every child and on the head-gear of every horse in the busy street. Two years have passed; uncounted sacrifices have been made—sacrifices of wealth, of blood, and limb, and life—of friendship and brotherhood, of endeared and hallowed pursuits and sacred ties—and still the civil war is raging in bitterness and heart-burning—still we make the same profession, and still we pledge ourselves firmly to hold on to our cause and persevere in the struggle into which unrighteous men, bewildered by pride and stimulated by bitter hatred, have plunged us.

We profess ourselves to be loyal citizens of these United States; and by loyalty we mean a candid and loving devotion to the object to which a loyal man—a loyal husband, a loyal friend, a loyal citizen—devotes himself. We eschew the attenuated argument derived by trifling scholars from meagre etymology. We take the core and substance of this weighty word, and pledge ourselves that we will loyally—not merely outwardly and formally, according to the letter, but fervently and according to the spirit—adhere to our country, to her institutions, to freedom and her power, and to that great institution called the government of our country, founded by our fathers, and loved by their sons and by all right-minded men who have become citizens of this land by choice and not by birth—who have wedded this country in the maturity of their age as verily their own. We pledge ourselves as national men devoted to the nationality of this great people. No government can wholly dispense with loyalty, except the fiercest despotism ruling by naked intimidation; but a republic stands in greater need of it than any other gov-

ernment, and most of all a republic beset by open rebellion and insidious treason. Loyalty is pre-eminently a civic virtue in a free country. It is patriotism cast in the graceful mold of candid devotion to the harmless government of an unshackled nation.

In pledging ourselves thus we know of no party. Parties are unavoidable in free countries, and may be useful if they acknowledge the country far above themselves and remain within the sanctity of the fundamental law which protects the enjoyment of liberty prepared for all within its sacred domain. But Party has no meaning in far the greater number of the highest and the common relations of human life. When we are ailing, we do not take medicine by party prescription. We do not build ships by party measurement; we do not pray for our daily bread by party distinctions; we do not take our chosen ones to our bosoms by party demarcations, nor do we eat or drink, sleep or wake, as partisans. We do not enjoy the flowers of spring, nor do we harvest the grain, by party lines. We do not incur punishments for infractions of the commandments according to party creeds; and we do not, we must not, love and defend our country and our liberty, dear to us as part and portion of our very selves, according to party rules and divisions. Woe to him who does. When a house is on fire, and a mother with her child cries for help at the window above, shall the firemen at the engine be allowed to trifle away the precious time in party bickerings, or is then the only word—"Water! pump away; up with the ladder!"

Let us not be like the Byzantines, those wretches who quarreled about contemptible party refinements, theological though they were, while the truculent Mussulman was steadily drawing nearer—nay, some of whom would even go to the lord of the crescent, and with a craven heart would beg for a pittance of the spoil, so that they would be spared, and could vent their party hatred against their kin in blood, and fellows in religion.

We know of no party in our present troubles; the word is here an empty word. The only line which divides the people of the north runs between the mass of loyal men, who stand by their country, no matter to what place of political meeting they were used to resort, or with what accent they utter the language of the land, or what religion they profess, or what sentiments they may have uttered in the excitement of former discussions, on the one hand, and those, on the other hand, who keep outside of that line—traitors to their country in the hour of need, or those who allow themselves to be misled by shallow names, and by reminiscences which cling around those names from bygone days, finding no application in a time which asks for things more sterling than names, theories, or platforms.

If an alien enemy were to land his hosts on your shores, would you fly to your arms and ring the tocsin because your country is in danger, or would you meditatively look at your sword and gun, and spend your time in pondering whether the administration in power, which must and can alone direct the defence of your hearths, has a right to be styled by this or that party name, or whether it came into power with

your assistance, and will appoint some of your party to posts of honor or comfortable emoluments? And will any one now lose his time and fair name as an honest and brave citizen, when no foreigner, indeed, threatens your country, at least not directly, but far more, when a heedless host of law-defying men, heaping upon you the vilest vituperation that men who do not leave behind them the ingenuity of civilization when they relapse into barbarism, can invent—when this host threatens to sunder your country and cleave your very history in twain, to deprive you of your rivers which God has given you, to extinguish your nationality, to break down your liberty, and to make that land, which the distributor of our sphere's geography has placed between the old and older world as the greatest link of that civilization which is destined to encircle the globe—to make that land the hot-bed of angry, petty powers, sinking deeper and deeper as they quarrel and fight, and quarreling and fighting more angrily as they sink deeper? It is the very thing your foreign enemies desire and have long desired. When nullification threatened to bring about secession—and the term secession was used at that early period—foreign journals stated in distinct words that England was deeply interested in the contest; for nullification might bring on secession, and secession would cause a general disruption—an occurrence which would redound to the essential benefit of Great Britain.

But the traitors of the North, who have been so aptly called adders or copperheads—striking as these reptiles do more secretly and deadly even than the rattlesnake, which has some chivalry, at least, in its tail—believe, or pretend to believe, that no fragmentary disruption would follow a division of our country into North and South, and advocate a compromise by which they pretend to believe that the two portions may possibly be reunited after a provisional division, as our peddlers putty some broken china cup.

As to the first, that we might pleasantly divide into two comfortable portions, we prefer being guided by the experience of all history, to following the traitors in their teachings. We will not hear of it. We live in an age when the word is nationalization, not denationalization; when fair Italy has risen, like a new-born goddess, out of the foaming waves of the Mediterranean. All destruction is quick and easy; all growth and formation is slow and toilsome. Nations break up, like splendid mirrors dashed to the ground. They do not break into a number of well-shaped, neatly framed, little looking-glasses. But a far more solemn truth even than this comes here into play. It is with nations as with families and with individuals. Those destined by nature to live in the bonds of friendship and mutual kindness become the bitterest and most irreconcilable enemies, when once fairly separated in angry enmity, in precisely the same degree in which affection and good-will was intended to subsist between them. We must have back the South, or else those who will not reunite with us must leave the country; we must have the country at any price. If, however, a plain division between the North and the South could take place, who will deny that those very traitors would instantly begin to maneuver for a

gradual annexation of the North to the South? It is known to be so. Some of them, void of all shame, have avowed it. They are ready to pottion on their knees for annexation to the South, and to let the condescending grantor, "holding the while his nose," introduce slavery, that blessed "corner-stone of" the newest "civilization," into the North, which has been happily purged from this evil. Let us put the heel on this adder and bruise all treason out of its head.

As to the compromise which they propose, we know of no compromise with crime that is not criminal itself, and senseless in addition to its being wicked. New guarantees, indeed, may be asked for at the proper time, but it is now our turn to ask for them. They will be guarantees of peace, of the undisturbed integrity of our country, of law, and liberty, and security, asked for and insisted upon by the Union men, who now pledge themselves not to listen to the words compromise, new guarantees for the South, armistice, or convention of delegates from the South and North—as long as this war shall last, until the North is victorious, and shall have established again the national authority over the length and breadth of the country as it was; over the United States dominion as it was before the breaking out of the crime which is now ruining our fair land—ruining it in point of wealth, but, with God's help, elevating it in character, strength, and dignity.

We believe that the question of the issue, which must attend the present contest, according to the character it has now acquired, is reduced to these simple words: Either the North conquers the South, or the South conquers the North. Make up your minds for this alternative. Either the North conquers the South and re-establishes law, freedom, and the integrity of our country, or the South conquers the North by arms, or by treason at home, and covers our portion of the country with disgrace and slavery.

Let us not shrink from facts or mince the truth, but rather plainly present to our minds the essential character of the struggle in which hundreds of thousands, that ought to be brothers, are now engaged. What has brought us to these grave straits?

Are we two different races, as the new ethnologists of the South, with profound knowledge of history and of their own skins, names, and language, proclaim? Have they produced the names which Europe mentions when American literature is spoken of? Have they advanced science? Have they the great schools of the age? Do they speak the choice idiom of the cultivated man? Have the thinkers and inventors of the age their homes in that region? Is their standard of comfort exalted above that of ours? What has this wondrous race produced? what new idea has it added to the great stock of civilization? It has produced cotton, and added the idea that slavery is divine. Does this establish a superior race?

There is no fact or movement of greater significance in all history of the human race, than the settlement of this great continent by European people at a period when, in their portion of the globe, great nations had been formed, and the national polity had finally become the normal type of government; and it is a fact equally pregnant with momentous results that the northern portion of this hemisphere came to

be colonized chiefly by men who brought along with them the seeds of self-government, and a living common law, instinct with the principles of manly self-dependence and civil freedom.

The charters under which they settled, and which divided the American territory into colonies, were of little more importance than the vessels and their names in which the settlers crossed the Atlantic; nor had the origin of these charters a deep meaning, nor was their source always pure. The people in this country always felt themselves to be one people, and unfittedly they proclaimed and achieved their independence. The country as a whole was called by Washington and his compeers America, for want of a more individual name. Still, there was no outward and legal bond between the colonies, except the crown of England; and when our people abjured their allegiance to that crown, each colony stood formally for itself. The Articles of Confederation were adopted, by which our forefathers attempted to establish a confederacy, uniting all that felt themselves to be of one nation, but were not one by outward legal form. It was the best united government our forefathers could think of, or of which, perhaps, the combination of circumstances admitted. Each colony came gradually to be called a state, and called itself sovereign, although none of them had ever exercised any of the highest attributes of sovereignty; nor did ever after the states do so.

Whenever political societies are leagued together, be it by the frail bonds of a pure confederacy, or by the consciousness of the people that they are intrinsically one people, and form one nation, without, however, a positive national government, then the most powerful of these ill-united portions needs must rule; and, as always more than one portion wishes to be the leader, intestine struggles ensue in all such incoherent governments. It has been so in antiquity; it has been so in the middle ages; it has been so and is so in modern times. Those of our forefathers who later became the framers of our Constitution, saw this approaching evil, and they observed many other ills which had already overtaken the confederacy. Even Washington, the strong and tenacious patriot, was brought to the brink of despondency. It was a dark period in our history; and it was then that our fathers most boldly, yet most considerately, performed the greatest act that our annals record—they engrafted a national, complete, and representative government on our halting confederacy; a government in which the senate, though still representing the states as states, became nationalized in a great measure, and in which the House of Representatives became exclusively national. Virginia, which, under the Articles of Confederation, was approaching the leadership over all (in the actual assumption of which she would have been resisted by other rapidly growing states, which would inevitably have led to our Peloponnesian war)—Virginia was now represented according to her population, like every other portion of the country; not as Virginia, not as a unit, but by a number of representatives who voted, and were bound to vote individually, according to their consciences and best light, as national men. The danger of internal struggle and provincial bitterness

had passed, and our country now fairly entered as an equal among the leading nations in the course where nations, like Olympic chariot-horses, draw abreast the car of civilization. We advanced rapidly; the task assigned to us by Providence was performed with a rapidity which had not been known before; for we had a national government commensurate to our land and our destiny.

But while thus united and freed from provincial retardation and entanglements, a new portent appeared.

Slavery, which had been planted here in the colonial times, and which had been increased in this country by the parent government, against the urgent protestations of the colonists, and especially of the Virginians, existed in all the colonies at the time when they declared themselves independent. It was felt by all to be an evil, which must be dealt with as best it might be, and the gradual extinction of which must be wisely yet surely provided for. Even Mr. Calhoun, in his earlier days, called slavery a scaffolding erected to rear the mansion of civilization, which must be taken down when the fabric is finished.

This institution gave way gradually as civilization advanced. It has done so in all periods of history, and especially of Christian history. Slavery melts away like snow before the rays of rising civilization. The South envied the North for getting rid of slavery so easily, and often expressed her envy. But a combination of untoward circumstances led the South to change her mind. First, it was maintained that if slavery is an evil, it was their affair, and no one else had a right to discuss it or interfere with it; then it came to be maintained that it was no evil; then slavery came to be declared an important national element, which required its own distinct representation and especial protection; then it was said—we feel ashamed to mention it—that slavery is a divine institution. To use the words of the great South-Carolinian, whose death we deeply mourn—of James Louis Petigra—they placed, like the templars, Christ and Baphomet on the same altar. Yet still another step was to be taken. It was proclaimed that slavery is a necessary element of a new and glorious civilization, and those who call themselves conservatives plunged recklessly into a new-fangled theory of politics and civilization.

Thus slavery came to group again the different portions of our country outside of, and indeed in hostility to, the national government and national constitution. The struggle for the leadership was upon us. The South declared openly that it must rule; we, in the meantime, declaring that the nation must rule, and if an issue is forced upon us, between the South and the North, then, indeed, the North must rule and shall rule. *This* is the war in which we are now engaged—in which, at the moment this is read to you, the precious blood of our sons, and brothers, and fathers, is flowing.

Whenever men are led, in the downward course of error and passion, ultimately to declare themselves, with immoral courage, in favor of a thing or principle which centuries and thousands of years of their own race have declared, by a united voice, an evil or a crime, the mischief does not stop with this single declaration. It

naturally, and by a well-established law, unhinges the whole morality of the man; it warps his intellect and inflames his soul with bewildering passions, with defiance to the simplest truth and plainest fact, and with vindictive hatred toward those who cannot agree with him. It is a fearful thing to become the defiant idolater of wrong. Slavery, and the consequent separation from the rest of men, begot pride in the leading men of the South—absurdly even pretending to be of a different and better race. Pride begot bitter and venomous hatred, and this bitter hatred, coupled with the love of owning men as things, begot at last a hatred of that which distinguishes the race to which we belong more than ought else—the striving for and love of liberty.

There is no room, then, for pacifying arguments with such men in arms against us, against their duty, their country, their very civilization. All that remains for the present is the question, Who shall be the victor?

It is for all these reasons which have been stated that we pledge ourselves anew, in unwavering loyalty, to stand by and support the government in all its efforts to suppress the rebellion, and to spare no endeavor to maintain, unimpaired, the national unity, both in principle and territorial boundary.

We will support the government, and call on it with a united voice to use greater and greater energy, as the contest may seem to draw to a close; so that whatever advantages we may gain, we may pursue them with increasing efficiency, and to bring every one in the military or civil service that may be slow in the performance of his duty to a quick and efficient account.

We approve of the Conscription Act, and will give our loyal aid in its being carried out, whenever the government shall consider the increase of our army necessary; and we believe that the energy of the government should be plainly shown by retaliatory measures, in checking the savage brutalities committed by the enemy against our men in arms, or unarmed citizens, when they fall into their hands.

We declare that slavery, the poisonous root of this war, ought to be compressed within its narrowest feasible limits, with a view to its speedy extinction.

We declare that this is no question of politics, but one of patriotism; and we hold every one to be a traitor to his country that works or speaks in favor of our criminal enemies, directly or indirectly, whether his offence be such that the law can overtake him or not.

We declare our inmost abhorrence of the secret societies which exist among us in favor of the rebellious enemy, and that we will denounce every participator in these nefarious societies, whenever known to us. We believe publicity the very basis of liberty.

We pledge our fullest support of the government in every measure which it shall deem fit to adopt against unfriendly and mischievous neutrality; and we call upon it, as citizens that have the right and duty to call for protection on their own government, to adopt the speediest possible measure to that important end.

We loyally support our government in its declarations and measures against all and every attempt of mediation, and armed or unarmed interference in our civil war.

We solemnly declare that we will resist every partition of any portion of our country to the last extremity, whether this partition should be brought about by rebellious or treasonable citizens of our own, or by foreign powers, in the way that Poland was torn to pieces.

We pronounce every foreign minister accredited to our government, who tampers with our enemies, and holds covert intercourse with disloyal men among us, as failing in his duty toward us and toward his own people, and we await with attention the action of our government regarding the recent and surprising breach of this duty.

And we call upon every American, be he such by birth or choice, to join the loyal movement of these National Leagues, which is naught else than to join and follow our beckoning flag, and to adopt for his device:

OUR COUNTRY.

LETTER

TO MESSRS. JOHN BRIGHT, JOHN STUART MILL, RICHARD COBDEN, NEWMAN HALL, E. B. CAIRNES, EDWARD DICEY, AND OUR OTHER FRIENDS IN ENGLAND.

Adopted at the Inaugural Mass Meeting of the Loyal National League, on the Sumter Anniversary at Union Square, in the city of New York, April 11th, 1863.

DEEPLY hated and loudly maligned by the enemies of free institutions, the loyal citizens of the United States of America turn with all the more pleasure and gratitude to their European friends, to those fearless and far-sighted men whom neither the scowl of the threatening tyrant, nor the zeal of their fellow-countrymen advising in justice, has been able to move from their steadfast principles. To you especially, our English advocates, we look with peculiar pleasure, on your own account as well as ours, feeling that your support is not less honorable and advantageous to yourselves than gratifying and encouraging to us. For we do not regard ourselves as suppliants for the charity of your favor in a cause foreign to your principles and interests, but as brothers appealing to brothers who are waging, though under different circumstances, the same battle for law, liberty and truth.

We, the citizens of the United States of America, are fighting for two objects:

First. To prove that we are a nation and a government, not a fortuitous assemblage of petty states loosely connected by a precarious league; and that we have the same right as all other governments to resist and suppress insurrection and conspiracy. By that instinct of self-preservation which is proverbially the first law of nature, and which holds good for nations as well as for individuals, we also claim to be guided.

Secondly. To arrest the progress of a barbarizing institution, which, originally forced upon us by the mother country, and, fostered by an unfortunate combination of circumstances, was threatening to overrule the whole national policy, external and internal, and to reduce the majority of our population to a state of political servitude; an institution which begins by imposing ignorance

on the black, and finishes by encouraging ignorance in the white, as the educational statistics of the Free and Slave States most clearly show.

Both these objects have been scandalously misrepresented in your country by men, too, who have not the excuse of ignorance to offer for their errors.

Persons pretending to be much better acquainted with our Constitution than the founders of it were, have formed a theory of our government according to their own wishes. They have denounced it as a "rope of sand," without strength or cohesion, and, when it has demonstrated its vitality and capacity to assert its rights, they cry out against it as an usurpation and a tyranny, though it is notorious that no European government in a similar strait has ever shrunk from measures at least as stringent.

Even more flagrant are the bad faith and sophistry manifested in reference to the second branch of our struggle. It is at first denied that slavery had anything to do with the war; and the enactment of a tariff *subsequently* to the breaking out of the insurrection was actually assigned as the cause of that insurrection. When the falsity of this statement became so glaring that its very authors were ashamed to urge it longer, they seized on the President's Proclamation, and endeavored to attach to it this paradox: "The President abolishes slavery where he cannot reach it, and leaves it alone where he can—thus showing his insincerity."

Rarely in the annals of mankind has a more insincere attempt been made to fasten insincerity upon others. The founders of our government had been most careful to keep slavery out of the peaceful jurisdiction of the Constitution. The President had, therefore, no right to meddle with slavery in those States where the Constitution was in force. It is only in those where it had been overturned and put in abeyance by the conspirators that he could decree emancipation as a war measure.

But further—and in this *suppressio veri* the injustice of our calumniators is more strikingly manifest—even before proclaiming emancipation in the insurgent States, the President strongly recommended emancipation, with Government aid, in the Border States; and bills for carrying out his recommendation in Missouri and Maryland were on the point of passing the last Congress. They were, indeed, defeated at the last moment by factious opposition; but, besides this proof of intention, has nothing actually been done? The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the first serious and effective treaty with Great Britain to put down the slave-trade, the reception of a Haytian minister at the Capitol, the recognition of black men as citizens of the United States,—are all these to count for nothing? Do they afford no proofs of the Government's sincerity? Finally, the exclusion of slavery from the Territories of the United States, which was the cardinal principle involved in the Presidential election, has it not been literally carried out?

From these shameless detractors we gladly turn to you who have, from the first, perceived and maintained that our cause is the cause of freedom, humanity and progress, not only in the Western Hemisphere, but throughout the civilized world. The friends of tyranny, the enemies of the people and of liberal institutions, are

everywhere rejoicing in the anticipation of our ruin, both from their abstract hatred of the principles which we represent, and from the practical assistance which our overthrow would give them in their designs at home. That our cause is the cause of liberty and progress will be made clear by examining the only possible solutions of the present conflict. These are three:

First, that the Government will succeed by force of arms in re-establishing its authority over those portions of the insurgent States which it has not yet been able to reoccupy.

Second, that through the treachery or faint-heartedness of a portion of the northern population, the reverse will take place; the South will conquer the North by negotiation, if not actually in the battle-field, and succeed to the control of the National Government, retaining the free States, or a portion of them, as subject dependencies.

Third, that the so-called Confederate States will succeed in establishing a separate government without making further conquests from the Union or acquiring control over it.

These, we repeat it, are the only three solutions possible; for that on which our foreign enemies are accustomed to dwell with malignant complacency, the comminution of our country into a multiplicity of fragments, would be but a slower and less direct way of arriving at the second result.

Now, what would be the respective consequences to the world of these three solutions?

Throughout its whole existence, up to the time of the present civil war, the United States government was a singularly peaceful and unmilitary one. Its army was smaller than that of a second-rate German Duchy; its war marine as small as its commercial marine was large. It had never pursued an aggressive or interfering policy, any attempts in that direction being notoriously and solely the work of that very gang of conspirators who have now kindled the flames of civil war. If it now succeeds in subduing the insurrection, it will naturally continue to maintain only such land forces as may suffice to preserve tranquillity within its borders, and such squadrons as will secure it from the fear of foreign invasion. But suppose the slaveholding South to obtain the mastery over all this vast territory and wield the resources of it. In the first place, no man of ordinary sense and information doubts that the "confederation" would be rapidly consolidated into a very strong government, either an autocratic monarchy or an oligarchy; indeed, the latter may be said to exist already. The leaders of the movement have themselves repeatedly acknowledged this. The wasteful and exhaustive nature of slave cultivation soon produces a demand for fresh soil; hence such a community is necessarily expansive. Although this expansive tendency was sufficiently manifest to inspire other governments and nations with well founded apprehension, still our free majority acted as a constant drag upon it, till the leading oligarchs, impatient of the restraint, essayed to rid themselves of it by the extremity of violence. Give them the supremacy, and they would have strength and singleness of purpose to overrun any of their neighbors at will. The combined resources of all sections would soon furnish them an army greater than that of France, a navy super-

rior to that of England. Moreover, war would be the simplest method of occupying the poor whites at the South and the dependent whites at the North. Thus the great slaveholding empire of North America would be at the same time more inclined to and more capable of aggression and conquest than any other nation existing. We are, indeed, aware that an attempt has been made to convict us and some of you whom we address of inconsistency in this matter. If, it is asked, slave cultivation impoverishes the soil, if the presence of slavery debases the non-slaveholding white, how can a government containing these elements of weakness be strong for attack and dangerous to its neighbors? But there is really no incompatibility whatever in the two things. The very qualities of an arbitrary government which render it most injurious at home are often those which render it most formidable abroad. Its comparative unfitness for foreign conquest is one of the beauties of a constitutional government. Was the Empire of the first Napoleon any the less the terror of Europe because it oppressed and impoverished France? It is *because* slavery exhausts the old soils that it must conquer new ones; it is *because* it deprives the masses of their rights that it must keep them busy at war.

It is supposed, however (and we are not ignorant that our friends, as well as our enemies abroad are to be found taking this view of the issue), that a boundary line might be adjusted on terms safe and honorable to the North, and the two rival communities, becoming separate nations, might go on side by side, counterpoising each other after the fashion of that most expensive, but, perhaps necessary, "balance of power" in vogue on your side of the Atlantic. Suppose such an almost impossible boundary to be drawn; this would be a less evil to humanity, but still a great one. The aggressive tendencies of the slaveholding power under an "independent," but by no means free, government, would be partially checked by the proximity of a Northern Democracy, but not entirely checked, much less eradicated. There would be the same necessity for new land, and the same difficulty in keeping the poorer class of whites quiet. There would be a constant tendency to war in one or the other direction. If the Northern Union were assailed, the blockade and all other inconveniences of the present war would be at once renewed. If another attempt were made to carry out the dream of the *golden circle*, by invading Mexico or the West Indies, whether this were done with the connivance or against the consent of any Continental powers, would it be for the interest of England, of freedom, or of humanity? Surely not.

And now, what do we expect of England? What have we a right to expect of England? For here again we are accused of inconsistency in repelling mediation and, at the same time, inviting aid. We want that moral intervention which was so efficacious in the case of Italy. We ask that England, who has for long years professed her attachment to law and liberty, should not look with favor on the attempt to establish an insurgent confederacy upon the two corner-stones of secession (which is but another name for lawlessness) and slavery. We believe that, had the governments of western Europe de-

clared from the first, officially or semi-officially, their unwillingness to see the success of such an attempt at government—presided over too by the inventor and founder of repudiation—and had the majority of the press and the influential classes followed in the same path, the insurrection would have died out by this time; for nothing has sustained it so much as the indirect aid received from Europe and the constant hope of greater and more direct assistance. We are sure that ordinary care and comity would have prevented the fitting out of privateers from your ports to prey on our commerce.

In every free country there must be differences, and great differences, of opinion; but some, at least, of the acts alluded to lie completely beyond that domain. Whether our Union can be restored in its integrity, may for you be matter of opinion. Aiding the insurgents against the government is, for every one who does it, a matter of will.

You English are proud of your reputation as a law-abiding people; can you encourage the most unprovoked and unjustifiable rebellion that the world has ever witnessed? You wish to elevate the very lowest class of workmen; can you patronize the system which reduces them to the legal status of the brute? You wish to educate the classes next in the scale; can you sympathize with the system which prefers to keep them in ignorance? Your aristocracy claim to be learned, refined and humane; does the magic of a name so blind them that they would gladly see a whole continent delivered over to the lusts of an oligarchy, however illiterate, violent and sanguinary, so that it but be an oligarchy and not a democracy?

Trusting that the good sense and virtue of the English nation, aided by such advisers as you, will soon answer these questions in the negative, we remain, with renewed thanks and sympathy, your friends and associates in the cause of liberty and truth.

LETTER

TO COUNT AGENOR GASPARI, PROF. EDOUARD LABOULAYE, AUGUSTIN COCHIN, AND OTHER FRIENDS OF AMERICA IN FRANCE.

Adopted at the Meeting of the Loyal National League at the Sumter Anniversary at the great Mass Meeting in Union Square, New York, on the 11th of April, 1863.

GENTLEMEN,—The Loyal National League in the city of New York, an organization having its ramifications throughout all the loyal States, and bound together by the simple pledge "to maintain unimpaired the national unity, both in idea and territorial boundary," have charged us with the grateful duty, in their name, to thank you for your disinterested and distinguished services, in behalf of the American People and Union, in France.

Amidst the general misapprehension and bewilderment of the public opinion of Europe, you have clearly understood and appreciated the nature of the struggle in which the People and Government of the United States are involved; and your pertinent and impressive

words have traversed the ocean and have inspired us with renewed hope and courage. In the heart of the American people, by the side of Washington, stands enshrined for ever that ancient form of French sympathy, generosity and valor, the Marquis de La Fayette. He and his companions, who stood by our fathers in their great struggle against arbitrary power, in the popular imagination have always represented France. Is it strange, then, that their children, treacherously assailed in the very citadel of their national life by a far more pernicious and despotic power, should listen with reluctant ear to the voices that would persuade them that France had lost the clew of her own great career, and, repudiating the traditions of her own glory, conspired with such a power to overthrow freedom, the rights of human nature and Christian civilization in America? The messages you have sent us have cleared away the doubts that weighed upon our hearts, and prove to us that, notwithstanding the persistent efforts of the advocates of the slave power to conceal its deformities and to misrepresent the true issues involved in its attack upon American nationality, the enlightened and liberal mind of France penetrates the whole mass of subterfuges, and sees clearly on which side lies truth and justice.

We esteem so much the more highly your enlightened and just appreciation of the cause for which we contend, inasmuch as we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that many things in the manner of conducting it must seem anomalous to an European observer, unacquainted with the more intimate circumstances and principles peculiar to our American system and life.

The supreme necessity of a government founded in the will of the people is, to hold their public servants to the most exact and inexorable obedience to that will, as expressed in the written constitution—for that is the fundamental law. To permit any assumption of power on the part of any one or all of these servants, under the pressure of any exigency, would be to open the door to endless ambitions, and to incur the hazards of the most fatal consequences. Doubtless the founders of our national system of government intended, as far as possible, to ignore the whole subject of slavery, to leave its interests entirely in the hands of the authorities of the several States in which it already existed, and to keep them wholly without the jurisdiction of the national constitution. For the sake of union, they found it necessary to recognize it as an existing, but, as they believed, temporary fact, but never as a right; and so, from the period of the adoption of the national constitution, the idea of the complete independence of slavery of the national government had been inculcated and strengthened. Its masters called it an *institution*, to put it upon a level with the fundamental law—the constitution itself. They moreover, at an early day, possessed themselves of its supreme judicial powers, and had thus in their own hands its interpretation. They proceeded to wrest its meaning to their own purposes, and to make of it an instrument for the perpetual maintenance of human bondage, instead of giving to it the true sense of its framers—a charter of liberty for all men. By allying themselves with a prevalent democracy at the North, they were able to instill and estab-

lish these interpretations, not only in the popular mind of the whole country, but in much of the legislation of the national government. And if, with all this, you will bear in mind that the constitution, to the American citizen, stands in the place of the person of the sovereign in the monarchical systems of Europe; that to it he owes paramount allegiance; that it is the supreme object of his loyalty, you will be the better able to understand the apparent hesitancy of the national government to strike at the existence of slavery, even in resistance of its own blow at the nation's life.

To destroy slavery, the acknowledged cause of the war, and at the same time to preserve intact the wise inhibitions of the constitution, according to the settled construction of that instrument, has been from the beginning a question of no little practical difficulty to the national administration. To carry on the war, it must have the hearty support of the country. To be sure of this support, it must not outrun preconceived public opinion. To enlighten and correct public opinion, time is necessary. Let us assure you that your own generous efforts to enlighten the public opinion of Europe have effected much to the same end here, and that the whole loyal country is fast coming up to the just and only solution of the great question in issue. The President's recent proclamation of emancipation is a proof; for while it by no means completes the work, even in idea, it is, at least, a great step in the right direction. Issued under his constitutional powers as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and as a measure of war, its direct operation must of necessity be restricted to such districts of country as still remain in unsubdued rebellion; but, indirectly, and as a ground of *right* of freedom for the slave, its scope is much wider and more important. In any view of it, it surely deserves the hearty sympathy and support of all the enlightened lovers of liberty and progress, rather than such captious and unworthy criticisms as that of the English minister. Lord John Russell is the minister of a constitutional government; he cannot be ignorant what rights of war a commander-in-chief may exercise; he knows that the rights of war are restricted to the theatre of the war, and that, under every constitutional government, power, in theory at least, is restricted to the exercise of rights.

Another ground of popular misapprehension, on your side of the Atlantic, as to the true issues at stake in our struggle, may very naturally have arisen out of the fact that in all the revolutionary movements of modern Europe the insurgents have usually represented liberty, nationality and progress, while the governments represented, if not arbitrary power, at best *authority* only, and the *status quo*. Here, on the contrary, exactly the reverse is true. Here the insurrection represents a power founded upon the utter annihilation of the commonest human rights—a boasted repudiation of all ideas of liberty and progress; while the national government, founded upon the principles of the Declaration of Independence of 1776, "the self-evident truths that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," was only to preserve the institutions in which these

rights are embodied, and under which alone they can be maintained in the present exigency. But, with all this, it is not difficult to see how the European mercenaries of the slave power, skillfully concealing the true character of its atrocious attempt to overthrow free government in America, and stealing the battle-cry of the oppressed nationalities of the Old World—"NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE"—should have been able to bewilder the public opinion, and draw to its shameless cause much of the sympathy of the popular heart, of Europe, even of France.

Assuming, for the occasion, the part of the oppressed, these frenzied devastators of a whole race of men have not hesitated to charge the loyal people of the North and the National Government with fighting only for dominion. "You fight," say they, "not for freedom, not for the emancipation of the enslaved, but only for the maintenance of power." The slightest examination will prove how unfounded and nefarious is this charge. The whole controversy in the election of Lincoln turned upon the question of the limitation of the area of slavery. The Republican party, who made him their candidate and carried him into office, planted themselves upon the simple ground of limiting slavery to the lines within which it already existed. This attempt to resist the arrogant demand of the slave masters to appropriate to their own use the whole of the still unoccupied domain of the nation, constituted the whole offense of the people of the United States in that election. They simply said to them, The national domain and the national government belong to us, as well as you. Liberty is *our* heritage, and henceforth we mean that it shall have its rights in both government and domain.

No other ground of offense than this had the slave power for tearing asunder our national unity, no other excuse for the unparalleled crime of beginning the present war to destroy the national life. These facts are patent to the whole world. Who, then, is it that is fighting for dominion?

We do not mean to say that the diabolical exigencies of slavery do not necessitate the illimitable appropriation of territory and the unrestrained exercise of dominion which is demanded for it. Doubtless, like every other system of authority founded in mere power without right, slavery requires that its masters should be masters also of the law-making power of the government under which it exists.

Let the friends of the slave power in Europe have the benefit of the admission that the exigencies of a slave society demand for its maintenance universal dominion, and the ultimate invasion of all the territories that may, at any given period, lie adjacent to its boundaries. Thence, not only all the territories of the Union, but when these should be absorbed, all Mexico and the South American States. Its inevitable instincts have already made themselves manifest in the various predatory expeditions that, from time to time, have been set on foot at the South. These were but a kind of offshoot of its exuberant and monstrous vitality; but they serve to illustrate the nature of the slave power.

In stripping from it the veil of sophistries with which it has sought to conceal its enormities, you have not only rendered a great service to

our national cause, but to the cause of public justice and Christian civilization everywhere. For the cause of the Union is the cause of humanity, unless it is to be taken for granted that the public morality of Christendom requires that the United States should abdicate the character of a nation in the interests of the power which assails it. If the true character of this power could be clearly presented to the public conscience of France, we should fearlessly rest ourselves upon its verdict. As it is, we cannot so much blame the general misapprehension, which has caused it not only to be tolerated, but to be clothed with a certain popular esteem, as well as with certain public rights, by the peoples and authorities of Europe, when we remember that even here, in the more immediate arena of its crimes, the peculiar character of American slavery, has not hitherto been thoroughly apprehended by the popular mind.

Simple Slavery is not a modern form of inhumanity. The annals of our race are full of the groans of the enslaved. But hitherto slavery has founded itself upon power—has rested its claim, in the might of the strongest—has been content to enjoy its profits, in the category of things without remedy. In no age of human history, until now, has it ever been attempted to clothe slavery with the SACREDNESS OF RIGHT. The distinguished infamy belongs to the founders of the southern confederacy, of setting up a government, whose corner stone, to use the language of one of the most notorious of them, Alex. H. Stephens, is "the right of the superior race to enslave the inferior." "This right," he says, "settles forever the agitating question of American Slavery," and boastfully declares that "our new government is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth."

The announcement is a sufficient notice to all the world. The establishment of the Southern Confederacy is not alone the setting up of a new power upon the earth, but the introduction into the public law of the civilized world of a NEW RIGHT; and into the family of nations of a NEW FORM OF CIVILIZATION.

It is in this aspect of our struggle that it becomes of the deepest interest to the people of France and to all men. An attempt to supplant the laws founded by the Divine Master of these Christian centuries by a new code, derived from the reeking shambles of King Dahomey, is an enterprise in which the people of the United States are not alone interested.

Is it possible that the idea can be anywhere entertained that the glory of France, or the permanent well-being of her people, require its successful prosecution on this continent? Will she aid in the overthrow of a nationality, founded upon the principles of her own great revolution, and cemented by the blood of her noblest sons, for the sake of any profits to be derived from the meretricious embrace of such an ally? At the south they make a commerce out of their own blood when it flows under a colored skin. That, doubtless, is in accordance with the new confederate code. For the sake of national recognition the new confederate power would allow any respectable nation to participate in all the benefits of this commerce as well as of the trade

in cotton. We cannot be persuaded that France will be the first to take advantage of the offer.

If at the instant of the slave master's attempt to force the new right into the public code of the Christian world, the governments of France and England had promptly refused to accept it—if they had simply declared that no State founded upon any such atrocious right should ever be admitted into the family of Christian nations—the question would long ago have been settled. There would have been no idle and starving spinners and weavers in Lancashire, no unemployed and famishing workpeople at Rouen and Mulhouse. Even now these governments have it in their power to say the word that shall at once put an end to the pernicious hopes that prolong our disasters, and the continually more and more aggravated sufferings of their own peoples.

As for us, we know now that the issues at stake, in the war which we wage, belong to humanity; we know, also, how momentous they are, and that the great question is not as to the day or month or year in which peace shall be declared, but as to the hour in which the *impious right* organized by the slave power into a Confederacy of States shall be utterly overthrown and extinguished. If we doubted as to our duty in such a crisis, we should turn to one of you and learn that "a people accustomed to liberty should risk their last man and their last dollar to keep the inheritance of their fathers"—"that the dismemberment of the Union—the rending assunder of the country—would be degradation without remedy."

We would by no means speak boastfully of the military successes of the armies of the Union. A singularly peaceful people, like those of the Northern States, do not learn war in a day. Besides, this is emphatically a war of ideas, and they take time to put on their armor and march. Still, an inspection of the map of the insurgent States will show you that some portion of every one of them is already in the occupation of our military forces. Let us assure you that the present condition of these forces, both physically and morally, never was as good as at this hour, nor their future success so well assured. At the same time let us further assure you that the resources of the people of the loyal States, both in men and money, remain unexhausted, and still adequate, we believe, to the work which Providence has committed to their hands.

And again thanking you for the many just and inspiring words you have spoken, in behalf of the great cause for which we fight, let us express to you our hope and our belief that when the end of our battle shall come neither you nor we shall be made ashamed by the result.

With sentiments of the highest individual esteem, we remain, respectfully, yours, &c.

STAND No. 2.

Speeches by Gov. Morton of Ind., Gen. A. J. Hamilton, Jas. M. Scovel.

This stand was erected on the south-west side of the Park, and was decorated with banners bearing the following inscriptions:

- "Loyal National League."
- "A common Union to maintain the power, glory, and integrity of the Nation."
- "No compromise with traitors; No neutrals in war; The Flag of our Union shall float over Sumter."
- "Loyal National League, pledged to maintain the nationality;"
- "No fire in the rear!"

At about 4½ o'clock, after salutes of artillery and martial music, the meeting was called to order by R. B. MINTURN, esq., and prayer was offered by the Rev. J. T. DURYEA.

Mr. JAMES A. ROOSEVELT read the call for the meeting and the list of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries.

Mr. ISAAC H. BAILEY was called upon to read the Address, but would not detain the meeting by reading it, on account of its length, saying that it was in accordance with the spirit which had called this meeting together; that it would be published by the press, and that the time would be fully occupied by able and interesting speakers.

The resolutions were read by JOHN JAY, jr., and were adopted by acclamation.

The Chairman introduced to the meeting ROBERT CUNNINGHAM, 14 years of age, cabin boy on board the Harriet Lane, and one of the few survivors of her last engagement. He was greeted with loud applause, and modestly bowing, retired.

SPEECH OF GOV. O. P. MORTON OF INDIANA.

Gov. MORTON of Indiana was introduced by the President, and said:

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: As you have learned by the call, this meeting is assembled for the purpose of commemorating the attack upon Fort Sumter. The inquiry may present itself to your minds, For what are we commemorating the attack upon Fort Sumter? Before that time the American people had been paralyzed by divisions into parties. The organization throughout the Southern States of a powerful Rebel army, the seizure of forts, dockyards, arsenals, mints, ships of war, and every species of public property, had proved unavailing to arouse the nation, which was, like a man with a dreadful nightmare, struggling to awake, but yet unable to do so. But when the echo of the first gun was heard in the night, coming like an earthquake, the nation arose from its bed, and every man rushed into the open air to inquire what was the cause of the alarm, ready to go to the rescue if necessary. The firing upon Fort Sumter was an evil hour for the Rebellion; for it had the effect, for the time, to close up the ranks among the people, to heal up the dissensions, and to bring us together as with a mighty compression. The attack upon Fort Sumter had its effect to unite the American people. May its speedy recapture and restoration again draw us together by the strong bonds of patriotic fraternity. [Applause.] Time passed on, and the patriotism and self-sacrificing devotion of many of our people, stimulated by the great Union meetings after the fall of Sumter, wore out; and the demagogues who had been driven into their kennels by the universal outburst of patriotism came forth and began to do the devilish work of attempting to produce divisions at the North so as to paralyze the arm of the Government. I believe that we shall come together again. I believe that the work of the demagogues will be short-lived. I believe that the good sense and the ardent affection which must still be found in the hearts of an overwhelming majority of our people, will again rally us all around the standard of our country, and uphold it until it shall be borne in triumph to final victory. We are engaged in a war, the most terrible in history, a civil war. The first question which I shall ask to-day, and it may seem somewhat elementary to you, for your minds are doubtless made up upon the subject, is this: What brought this war upon the country? who are its authors? My excuse for asking this question and answering it, is based upon the fact that there are men in the city of New-York, and all over the loyal North, who are attempt-

ing to persuade the people that this war was made by Mr. Lincoln's Administration; that it is an Abolition war, gotten up for the purpose of effecting the emancipation of the slaves, and to promote negro equality. The foundations of the Rebellion were laid more than thirty years ago. The first development of it was in the nullification movement of South Carolina upon the pretense of a tariff which they declared to be unconstitutional and oppressive. That Rebellion was promptly suppressed by the iron will and strong hand of Gen. Jackson. And the prediction was then made by Gen. Jackson himself, that the next development would be upon the pretense of the Slavery question. From that time until the breaking out of this Rebellion, preparations were constantly made. Men of the Calhoun school of politics, at first almost wholly confined to the State of South Carolina, but afterward spreading through most of the Southern States, and afterward extending the poison even into the Northern States, were laboring to lay the foundations for the great Rebellion with which we are now struggling. They were willing to postpone the revolt so long as they could control the Government through the instrumentality of party. But when, shortly after the Administration of President Buchanan commenced, it became apparent that the South could not longer control the Government as before, preparations were systematically and industriously made throughout that entire Administration to bring the Rebellion on. It was the business of Mr. Floyd, from the very first, so to dispose of all the arms and munitions of war that when the hour came the Rebels could place their hands upon them; and we know they did, the greater portion of them. Mr. Toucey, the Secretary of the Navy, allowed the navy to become oilspilled and dismantled; and when the hour for action came, it was dispersed upon all the oceans, and was of no value to us. It was the business of Mr. Cobb, the Secretary of the Treasury, to impoverish the Treasury of the Union, and to bring dishonor upon its credit. I have been informed since I have been in this city, of a fact which I believe is not generally known. Mr. Cobb deliberately made arrangements to allow the interest on the public debt to go unpaid, so that the coupons should be protested for non-payment, in order to affect our credit abroad; and this dishonor to the national credit was only avoided by some banks of the City of New-York coming forward and voluntarily paying the interest upon the national debt to preserve the national credit. [Applause.] Immediately after the election of Mr. Lincoln, South Carolina made her arrangements to go out of the Union. She was followed by one State after another, until eight or nine had gone through the forms of Secession, before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration. At the time of his inauguration the Rebels had an army of more than 30,000 men in the field, trained, armed, and ready for battle. Up to that time we had done nothing. Mr. Buchanan had proclaimed to the world that the Government had no power for self-preservation. He had declared that the Government could not take a single military step to preserve its life from the robbers that had taken it by the throat. Their arrangements had been made under his eye, throughout his entire Administration; and we can only exonerate him from the charge of a knowledge of the plans of the Rebels and a complicity with them, by making the most liberal concessions in favor of his incapacity. [Laughter.] Our little army of 15,000 men had been scattered to the four winds. There were not 300 men together in any one place, except the army of Gen. Twiggs in Texas, which was most disgracefully surrendered, as you know it was intended it should be when it was placed there. Preparations were made for the reduction of Fort Sumter. They had been going on for many weeks. They were made deliberately, openly, under the guns of that fortress. Those guns remained silent; and after all the land batteries and floating batteries had been prepared and the hour was ripe, then the fire was opened upon Sumter, and our glo-

rious flag was hauled down, and our gallant garrison was compelled to surrender to the enemy; and thus the war was begun. Need I ask you the question, then, Who made the war? It was made by the Rebels; it was made by the South. Our Government is standing on the defensive. It is defending its life; it is defending itself against the dismemberment of its territory; it is struggling and fighting to prevent the dissolution of the Union. It is not a war which the Government has made, but a war forced upon the Government—a war which the Government could not refuse to accept. The next question, then, for our consideration is, For what purpose did the South make this war? For what purpose was this Rebellion brought upon the country with all its train of disasters? What object had they in view? What had they to gain by it? One party to this war contends that there is no such thing as an American people, an American nation; that we are but an aggregation of some 34 petty nationalities, united together in a partnership of interest and convenience, from which any one is at liberty to withdraw at pleasure. The other party to this war, to which I trust we all belong, contends that there is such a thing as an American people, that there is a national unity [applause]; that while we are divided into States for local and domestic government, while the States are divided into counties each having a government of its own, and while the counties are again divided into townships, each having a township government of its own, yet the township belongs to the county, the county to the State, and the State to one mighty indissoluble nation. [Applause.] The question recurs, Why did the South make this war, and seek to destroy this Government? You will be told, perhaps, by such a man as Fernando Wood [groans]—I beg your pardon for alluding to a subject which seems to be so repulsive to your feelings—but we are told by many men, North and South, that the war was forced upon the South to protect their rights under the Constitution; that it was the intention of Mr. Lincoln's Administration to aggress upon those rights, and to secure those constitutional rights she commenced the war to destroy the Constitution itself. The first official declaration which the Rebel Government ever made to the Courts of Europe, given by their first ambassador to Lord John Russell, was the statement that the war was not made by the South for any such purpose; that the South did not fear that the Administration of Mr. Lincoln would trample upon their constitutional rights. I need then give no further answer to this pretense upon the part of Northern sympathizers. Then what was the war made for by them? It was to establish a Government in which the institution of Slavery should not be simply recognized or tolerated, but should be the great paramount of controlling interest, in which the slaveholding aristocracy should be the dominant or the governing class. The war was made for the purpose of overturning and uprooting the democratic principle and establishing the aristocratic principle. Mr. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Confederacy, who has given us the only commentary upon their new Constitution, declares in his speech at Milledgeville, that the South for the first time in the history of the world, had established a government whose chief corner-stone was the institution of Slavery. It was a matter of boasting that this had occurred for the first time in the history of civilization. [A voice, "For the last time, too."] It was brought forth as an evidence of remarkable progress. He boasted that they had overturned the principles upon which this Government had been founded; that they had established a Government upon principles directly the reverse of those which were set forth in the Declaration of Independence, and upon which this Government was established. The great question present in all our minds, and one which we are all trying to answer to ourselves, is this great question, How shall we procure peace? How shall this war

be ended? It is said that there are three ways in which peace can be attained. The first is by conceding the independence of the Rebel States, conceding the dissolution of the Union, conceding the dismemberment of our territory. [Voices, "Never."] The second is by procuring an armistice, then calling a National Convention, having the Rebel States represented in that Convention, and then propose to amend the Constitution, to make it satisfactory to the Rebels, and reconstruct the Union by turning out the six New-England States. ["Never."] The third is by suppressing the Rebellion and conquering a peace. [Applause, and cries of "That's the way."] Let me consider very briefly the merits of these different modes of obtaining peace.

1. If you obtain peace by conceding the independence of the Rebel States, then you must make up your minds to give up Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland and Delaware. ["Never."] We have been told by the Rebels, first and last, that they never would consent to a peace, except upon terms giving to them all the Slave States represented in the Rebel Congress. Each of these States has members in that body, and each is represented by a star upon the rebel flag. If you would, therefore, obtain peace by abandoning this war, and conceding their independence, you must make up your minds to give them those four States. If you do that, you must also give them up your National Capitol, which is between Maryland and Virginia, both of which would go with the South. That is the first consequence. I do not say it would be the worst, by any means, for we could build a new capitol upon better ground, and, I believe, in a better neighborhood. [Laughter.] The next consequence to flow from peace upon those terms, is the surrender of the mouth of the Mississippi River, and the control of that stream, thus making the North-Western States tributary to the Rebel Confederacy. The next consequence, flowing directly from that, would be to raise up in all the North-Western States, a powerful party in favor of immediate annexation to the Southern Confederacy. They would feel at once that the North-Western States, lying in the Mississippi Valley and upon the Ohio, are bound geographically, commercially and socially with the people of the South and South-West; and they would never consent to be separated from that political community that controls the mouth of the Mississippi River. This party would be powerful from the first. It could not at once carry this measure of annexation to the Southern Confederacy, and would then resort to a claim for a North-Western Confederacy, which would be but a preparatory and incipient measure; because after we shall have cut ourselves loose from the Atlantic States, we must have an outlet, and we should be driven to throw ourselves into the arms of the Southern Confederacy to enable us to get out through the Gulf of Mexico. Another consequence to flow from peace upon these terms would be the immediate establishment of a Pacific Republic. California, Oregon, the Territory of Washington and all these territories separated from the Atlantic States by the range of the Rocky Mountains, would at once set up for themselves, and with a much better show of reason than any other portion of the Republic. They are upon the Pacific slope. Their commerce is upon the Pacific Ocean. Their commerce is separated from ours by the Rocky Mountains. And they would at once separate from us and set up a great Pacific Republic. No sensible man can believe that if the work of secession and disintegration shall be consummated by the establishment of this independence of the present Rebel States, it will stop there. No, it will go on until our country, once powerful, prosperous and glorious, will have become an utter wreck and ruin.

II. Let me now consider briefly this second mode of obtaining power, by procuring an armistice, calling a National Convention, amending the Constitu-

tion, so as to make it satisfactory to the Rebels, and reconstructing the Union by turning out the six New-England States. We know very well that the Rebels will not come back with all the Free States in the Union. It would still be in the minority in the Government, as they are the minority in the populations. To remove this difficulty, it is proposed to turn New-England out, so as to get South Carolina and the other Southern States in. We would then live in a Confederacy of twenty-eight States, of which fifteen would be Slave States and thirteen would be Free States. That would give the South a permanent majority in the Senate of the United States; for they would take care never again to admit another Free State into the Union. What then would be our condition? What is the condition of Ireland to England, of Poland to Russia, of Hungary to Austria? Such would be our condition were we to consent to a new Confederacy constructed upon these principles. Why is New-England to be turned out? What is her offense for which she is to be expelled from the Union? It is that she has loved Liberty too well and Slavery too little. [Applause.] To New-England more than to all other parts of the country together, do we owe this Revolutionary war, and all the mighty train of consequences that have followed it, so important to ourselves and to the world. The Revolution had its origin in New-England, and New-England gave more soldiers than all the other States together, for the purpose of carrying it on to a successful issue. Massachusetts gave over 75,000 men, while South Carolina gave a few hundred over 5,000. Yet the proposition is made to kick Massachusetts out, to coax South Carolina to come in. We are to turn out loyal States in order to induce this viper to return to nestle in our bosom. We will bring the viper back; but it will not be until after its fangs are extracted. This scheme is too dishonorable to be pursued; and yet this scheme is sicker than the war. It has its advocates in your city and in all the Northern States. I dismiss it as a subject too repugnant to our feelings to be longer presented to you.

III. I come then to the last method of obtaining peace, by suppressing the Rebellion and conquering a peace. [Applause.] In the first place, allow me to consider very briefly the progress of the war. What progress have we made? I know we are an impatient people. We want great things accomplished in a very short period. We have failed properly to consider the magnitude of the Rebellion and the difficulties of the undertaking. When we shall have looked over the ground we shall find that our progress after all has been highly satisfactory, and such as to give us the most confident hopes of success in the future. We have secured Kentucky; we have secured Missouri; we have a great part of Arkansas; we have a great part of Louisiana; we have Maryland; we have Delaware; we have a considerable part of old Virginia; a considerable part of North Carolina, and a large part of Tennessee. We have at this time more than half the Rebel territory and more than a third of all its population. The right to grumble is one of our prerogatives. We are a grumbling people. We grumble at the President. I have no doubt that the President has committed faults. He has been placed in a more trying and difficult position than any Executive the nation ever had. The position of Gen. Washington was never more difficult or more important than that of Abraham Lincoln. If the President had not erred, under all these trying circumstances, it would have been more than human. You who are familiar with the history of our Revolution remember what bitter opposition was waged against Gen. Washington, almost throughout the war. You remember the complaints they made of want of success, complaints of his tardiness, and how from time to time the hearts of the people sank within them. But still they held on, and victory finally crowned our arms and blessed our cause. There was still a confidence that took fast hold of the hearts of the people at that time, of the integrity, the purity, the sound judgment of

Gen. Washington. And I tell you to-day that the great overshadowing element in the character of Abraham Lincoln is his unimpeachable integrity. [Applause.] It is the confidence that this nation has that he is an honest man, that he loves his country, and that whatever he does he intends for the welfare of his country, that if he errs it is the error of the head and not of the heart; and I congratulate the nation that in this great hour of trial we have for our President so honest and upright a man as Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.] They complain of the Secretary of War. It is said that he is not doing his part well, and that many of the misfortunes of the war are to be attributed to him. I doubt not he, too, has committed errors; but I have watched his course narrowly, I have had much to do with him in the administration of military affairs in Indiana, and I take great pleasure in bearing testimony to his great abilities, and to his untiring devotion to the cause in which he is engaged. I tell you there is nothing half-hearted about Edwin Stanton. His whole heart is in the work, and he is devoting himself to it night and day. I believe history will yet record his name upon one of its brightest and best pages. I may speak, too, with propriety, of Secretary Chase. He received the Treasury, as it came from the hands of Cobb, without a single grain in it. [Laughter.] It had been impoverished by him purposely to paralyze the power of the Government to resist the Rebellion. That was a part of the scheme, a part of the policy which characterized the whole Administration of Buchanan. Mr. Chase has resurrected the credit of the nation; and this fabric of the national credit never stood so high as at the present time. It is our boast that we have carried on the war up to this time without being compelled to call upon Europe to furnish a single dollar, as has been correctly stated in one of the resolutions you have just adopted; and the prospect is that we shall carry on the war to the end, and crush out the Rebellion without calling upon Europe to lend us a single dollar for that purpose. The plan of obtaining peace that I am in favor of, is by crushing out the Rebellion. How are we to do that? The great instrumentalities to be employed are the army and the navy. They are attempting by force and violence to destroy this Government, and we must meet them by force and violence. We must therefore maintain the army and the navy in their efficiency, and keep them in operation. To do that the ranks of the army must be recruited. Those who are not in favor of filling up the army are not in favor of crushing the Rebellion, and want the Rebellion to succeed. The ranks of the army must be recruited; and how shall it be done? You cannot do it by volunteering; but it must be done by the Conscription act. It is a matter of necessity that that act should be enforced everywhere. Some of you, perhaps, do not like the Conscription act. It is an odious thing at the best; a thing which cannot be made acceptable to the people. Yet it should be understood that it is a necessary evil, and should be accepted as such. If you do not like the Conscription act, let me ask the question, who are the men who forced the conscription upon the nation? They are the men who have endeavored to make the war odious. They are the men who have produced the state of public opinion which has entirely cut off and suspended all volunteering. They are the men who have encouraged desertion from the army. They are the men who have endeavored to depreciate the national currency, to discourage the army, to discourage men from volunteering. These are the men who have brought the Conscription act upon the country; and I pray you to hold them responsible for it. The Government would much prefer to depend upon volunteering to the end, as it had in the beginning; but as that became impossible in consequence of the opposition to the war, it became necessary to resort at last to the Conscription act. Let me here advert briefly to what is called the \$300 section. We are told that that is the rich man's

section; that it was designed to exonerate the rich man, and to embrace the poor man. I want to correct that. I disapproved of it, but it was for a very different reason from those demagogues who are trying to excite the country against the law. I preferred that it should allow the drafted man to furnish a substitute, but leave to him the expense and the trouble of getting a substitute. But why was the \$300 clause put in? It was put in for the benefit of the poor man. In Indiana we had a little draft—a draft of a few thousand men for nine months—and the price of substitutes ran up from \$200 to \$800 or \$900 in a very few days after the draft was made. Does it require an argument to show that there is a much larger number of poor men in New-York who can procure \$300, than of men who can procure a substitute when they have to pay \$800 to \$1,000 for him? This was the idea which led Congress to insert the \$300 clause; to protect the poor man from the result which experience had indicated, that the price of substitutes would run up even to \$1,000, putting it entirely out of the power of a man of moderate means to procure a substitute at all. Yet this clause has been perverted and falsely held up before the people, to make the Government and the war odious. Gov. M. proceeded to demonstrate the propriety of employing negro regiments, of the Emancipation Proclamation, and of "arbitrary arrests." He concluded by showing that the Rebellion now derives its vitality only from the hope of dissension in the North, and by an earnest appeal for united effort to suppress the Rebellion at once and forever.

Gen. A. J. HAMILTON followed in an able and eloquent address which was listened to with earnest attention and repeated applause.

Hon. JAMES M. SCOVEL of the New-Jersey Legislature, one of the seventeen who did not vote for the Peace resolutions, made a short speech, and

The Rev. J. T. DURYEA concluded with a few remarks; the audience dispersing in the gathering shades of twilight

STAND NO. 3.

Speeches by Gen. Sigel, Schnyler Colfax, and Others.

This stand was decorated with the American colors, and with banners bearing the inscriptions, "One Flag, One Destiny, One Country;" "Sustain our Brave Soldiers." A band of musicians were in attendance, and commenced the proceedings by performing the grand march from "Le Prophete." The meeting was called to order by Dr. FRANCIS LIEBER, who upon taking the chair spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF DR. LIEBER.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Two years ago the boom of the cannon of treason reached us from Charleston, and now this very day we expect news from that very port. We do not know in which way the news will turn—whether it will bring us tidings of victory, or whether reverses will follow. But, fellow-citizens, I venture to say that whether we are victorious immediately and take that traitorous city, or whether every iron-clad vessel is sunk to the bottom there, we will remain firm—we will carry out this war to the very last, and will not give it up until every inch of the country is restored to the Union. [Cheers.] No matter what turn the war has taken during the last two years—sometimes we were victorious, and sometimes we were baffled—we meet again to-day to profess our faith, and again pledge ourselves not to give up the struggle—not to yield one inch—until the United States authority is restored, until we have again a country in her whole integrity, until we can say again that we are American citizens from

North to South, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. [Loud cheers.] We will not allow pride, or arrogance, or untruth to rule over us. We come here to pledge ourselves again. I believe I can express far better what I believe we have met here for, if I read to you a portion of the address that will subsequently be read to you in its entirety. There I have expressed on paper my views better than I could by word of mouth, and I hope and trust I have only expressed Union feeling. I will ask my friend, Mr. Lossing, to read to you the last portion of the address, and inquire if you agree with us or not. [Applause.]

Mr. B. J. LOSSING said he felt it to be an honor to repeat to the meeting the wise words contained in the address. He went on to state that on the 12th of April, 1861, the news of the attack on Fort Sumter reached New-Orleans, where he was then staying. That forenoon, while sketching upon the fields where Jackson won his last great battle, he heard seven discharges of cannon in New-Orleans, and observed to his companion that they were rejoicing in New-Orleans over the secession of the seven Confederate States; but the discharges sounded to him as the death knell of the oligarchy of the country. From that day to this he believed firmly that the whole rebellion was nothing more than an instrumentality in the hands of God to strengthen and purify the nation. [Applause.] Mr. L. then read from the address as requested.

During Mr. Lossing's remarks, Gen. Sigel came upon the stand, and, upon being recognized, was greeted with enthusiastic cheering.

SPEECH OF GEN. SIGEL.

Loud calls were made for Major-Gen. Sigel, who was then introduced. He spoke as follows:

CITIZENS—[A Voice—"Sprechen Dentsch?"] You will have somebody that will give you something better than I can do in German. Citizens of New-York, I greet you. I am glad to see a peaceful army around me. [Applause.] I am glad to see the people of New-York so faithful to their Government, and so decided in maintaining the great principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence and in the Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln. [Great cheers.] There are some, my friends, who say that the safety of this country will depend on the muscles of men—on the strong arms of the Democracy. There are some who say so now. I answer them, in the name of a great people, that the rights of men and republican principles are stronger than the muscles of a few thousand demagogues. [Tremendous cheers and a voice, "That's the talk."] Now, my friends, we are not fighting a new battle. This time is not a new time for the American people. It is the spirit of 1776 [applause] which is making its tour round the globe, and which is revived in the hearts of the American people. [Renewed applause.] My friends, the spirit is awakened and we have to maintain it. It not only is revived in the hearts of the American people, but it has permeated France and Italy; it has revived Germany and Hungary; it has put the scythe and the lance into the hands of Kosciuszko, Mieroslowski and Langiewicz, and it even has frightened away that far-away grizzly bear of Petersburg. And Europe looks upon you as those who have to fight the battle. They say you began in 1776. It is America which has brought forth this great movement, the French Revolution and all the revolutions following; and it is in this country where the last blow must be struck, and where the last battle must be fought. [Cheers.] You are not of the opinion of those who think that this war must be ended now and must be ended very quickly, and I am not of that opinion either. Europe has for thirty years fought for religious independence and for the freedom of conscience. We, the American people, have to fight for republicanism and for the independence of nations. [Cheers.] We must not get tired. Your ancestors fought seven years to ac-

quire their independence, and I think that the principles for which we are now battling and fighting are worth that we at least spend half that time for their maintenance. [Applause.] They say that this war is led on slowly. It is true. But the first year, you know very well, was spent in experimenting, in illusions, in false hopes; the second year was hardly sufficient to gather our forces; and the third year, I think, will be sufficient to draw the iron band closely around secessionism, to strangle it. [Cheers, and a voice—"Ten thousand men for Sigel."] I thank you for your sympathies. I have not come here to engage in the business of speech-making. I am only here on an errand, and I hope I will not be here very long. I thank you for your sympathies, and make room for somebody better.

Gen. Sigel was loudly cheered on resuming his seat.

Dr. RUDOLPH DULON then addressed the audience in the German language, and his speech, which was an eloquent appeal in behalf of the National cause, was loudly applauded.

SPEECH OF THE HON. SCHUYLER COLFAX.

The Hon. Schuyler Colfax of Indiana was introduced by Gen. Sigel as his valued friend and as a "first-rate man."

Mr. COLFAX said that every man who spoke in the language of fatherland from Germany, or in the language of his own mother tongue was his friend and brother. There were others speaking for our noble Union that day in the very jaws of danger, in the port of Charleston, South Carolina. [Applause.] God bless those noble men of arms who have gone forth to plant our banner victoriously on the place where the reptile flag of disunion first was raised! [Cheers.] The afternoon of this April day to-day in Charleston has an atmosphere hanging over it lurid with shot and shell and flame. [Renewed applause.] There waves on the one hand the Palmetto flag of treason, which seeks to divide this noble country, the heritage of our fathers; and above you, sons and brothers—worthy sons of worthy sires—floats the banner of beauty, of glory, that never yet paled in the face of any foe, but which traitors have sought to trample in the dust. [Applause and a voice: "They can't do it."] My friends, in the hour when our country comes to make up her jewels, these brave men will be remembered in our heart of hearts—those men who went forth from this city, from my District in the far Western State of Indiana, and every other loyal district in the Union, some in the freshness of life's June and some in the full maturity of life's October, to give their life, if need be, for their beloved country—those men whose example shall live as long as history, and whose memory shall blossom even in the very dust of the grave. Their names shall be written high upon the scroll of American fame. God bless them to-day! May the God of Battles that stood by our fathers in the infancy of this country, and out of weakness gave them strength and power, stand by our noble defenders to-day. [Applause.] My friends, I want you to remember one thing more about that gallant army. The men who are under the folds of the American flag quarreled in the past, as you have, in regard to transitory issues. They quarreled at the primary meetings, at the polls, everywhere where men could honestly differ in the exercise of a freeman's privilege, but when their country was in danger, when the issues of national life and death hung trembling in the balance, they threw away from them all these petty differences, and struck hands together as noble patriots under our country's flag. Why cannot we imitate their noble example here at home, for to-day the question is not the minor issues of the past, which are but as dust in the balance. It is the greater, the nobler, the more important question—not only as regards the heritage bequeathed to us, but in regard to your posterity in the coming generations

of the future. It is whether this Republic of ours shall live, or whether it shall die—whether this country shall remain a beacon light for the oppressed of all nations, with the Union as its insignia, as it has been in the past, of its power and strength, or whether it shall be shattered to pieces, and be subject to the insult, invasion of the foreign despot, until liberty shall be crushed out in the warring remnants of the American Republic. [Voices—"Never."] It is for that that hostile armies are marshalled to-day against the ranks of treason. There are some who go about crying peace, peace, when there can be no peace except on the basis of submission to rightful authority. [Cheers.] Those who would consent to have the Union severed by the sword of treason are as false-hearted as the pretended mother whose deceit Solomon detected by proposing to divide the child to settle the dispute with her neighbor. [Cheers.] Such a man may have been rocked in an American cradle and suckled by an American mother, but he has not an American heart. [Cheers.] Mr. Colfax then paid a just tribute to the deeds of Gen. Sigel in the field, saying that he could not point to one solitary error committed by him. Before this war closes he trusted the Administration would weed out every commanding officer whose whole heart was not in the struggle, and then in the closing Waterloo of the struggle you will see Sigel and the men who fought *with* Sigel charging. [Loud cheers.] While the speaker indorsed the President's Proclamation through and through, yet he regarded any man who stood unconditionally by the Union, the President and the army, as a true, whole-souled patriot, no matter whether he thought the Proclamation was the blood or the marrow. [Cheers.] Some said that the South would not submit. He would say in reply that it was dying to-day, and that the very women who are now engaged in the bread riots to procure food, would, when the military power of the South is broken, bail our flag not only as an emblem of the Union, but as the harbinger of plenty to them. [Cheers.] Mr. Colfax closed by alluding to the return of the soldiers of New-York, who, having gone forth as the vindicators and defenders of the Union, would return as its saviors, having illustrated their devotion to the old flag, of which one of our poets had so beautifully written:

Flag of our hearts, our symbol and our trust,
Though traitors trample thy bright folds in dust,
Though vile ambition, dark rebellion's lust
Conspire to tear thee down:
Millions of loyal lips thy folds caress,
Millions of loyal hearts thy stars do bless,
Millions of loyal hands will round thee press
To guard thy old renown.

[Three cheers.]

SPEECH OF GOV. PIERPONT.

Governor PIERPONT of Virginia was the next speaker. He remarked that the attack on Fort Sumter was not the sudden impulse of passion, but it was the outbreak of an old feeling that had fought against our fathers in the days of the Revolution under the name of Tory, that had taken its seat in South Carolina, and had been in South Carolina politics from that day until the present, and had many sympathizers in the shape of Copperheads. [Cheers.] They had decided that the two institutions of labor in this country could not exist; had preached the doctrine that where labor participated in government the institutions of the country could not be stable, and had affirmed that the laborers of the South were slaves, and that the laborers of the North were no better. They had inculcated all these doctrines into the minds of their children, and had inaugurated this revolution, not for the purpose of perpetuating Slavery or dividing the North, but for the purpose of enslaving laboring men, whether they were in the North or whether they were in the South. [Applause.] They had been induced to believe at the South (and he well knew it, because he was in their midst) that the people of the North

would not fight; and they believed that one Southern man was equal to five Northern men, because the Southerner was a gentleman and the Northerner a slave. The North had victories and reverses in this contest; but, while the South has been united in this great fight, the North has had its attention divided. The war would soon draw to a close, and it must have one of two terminations. The South would subjugate the North and put the white laboring men of the North upon an equality with their slaves, or else the North would whip the South, and place them and their slaves upon an equality, and tell them by the eternal God that a traitor had no more rights than a slave. [Cheers.] Germans, Irishmen, fugitives from oppression abroad, have you not seen enough of antocracy in the Old World? [Voices—"Too much."] Have you come here to unite with men to establish a Southern Confederacy? [A voice—"No—can't see it." Laughter.] Have you come here to take part with men who hold that all laboring men are unworthy of participating in government, and are incapable of being freemen? Fellow-citizens, we must be in earnest; we must put down all traitors, whether at the North or at the South; we must win in this last fight for liberty. [Cheers.] When future generations read the history of our country, they would look back upon the American Republic as the best government that ever existed. Would the historian say that five millions of whites, backed up by four millions of slaves, made war upon a democracy of eighteen millions, and whipped and subjugated them? ["Never."] That would not be the case; but it would be written that the freemen of the North rose in their strength and overthrew the enemy. In conclusion, Gov. Pierpont alluded to the triumphant vote in favor of freedom in his State. Out of 48,000 votes cast in 1860, 30,000 were now recorded against Slavery; and as the Rebels had drawn off some 12,000 of the remainder into the army, only a corporal's guard of the allies of Slavery were left. [Cheers.] He also stated that he meant to make every man in the State of Virginia, who held office, swear to support the Constitution of the United States, including every person holding a license, merchants, tavern-keepers, municipal officers, ministers who celebrated the rites of marriage, bank officers, from president to clerk; and he thought it would do no harm to have a little of that kind of administration here—[laughter]—especially if it embraced editors of newspapers. [Cheers.] Gov. P. was here obliged to stop on account of the failure of his voice, but he hoped this would not be the last opportunity he would have of addressing the citizens of New-York. [Cheers.]

Gen. SIGEL said that he had had communication with Gov. Pierpont, and he had found that he was a man of sound principles.

Dr. LIEBER announced the death of Jas. L. Petigru of Charleston, and offered a series of appropriate resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

The Hon. MONTGOMERY BLAIR was introduced, and said a few words; and

Mr. WEILL and Dr. FOERSCH addressed the audience in German.

The proceedings were conducted in an orderly manner, in strict accordance with the programme, and the speakers were listened to with the most marked attention and interest, whether speaking in German or English. The concourse was large from first to last, and the demonstration was a most successful one.

STAND NO. 4.

Speeches by Major-Gen. Fremont, the Hon. Roscoe Conkling, the Hon. Geo. W. Julian, and W. J. A. Fuller, esq.

The presence of Major Gen. Fremont and staff at Stand No. 4, attracted a large audience to the north-west corner of Union Square, who were entertained,

before the exercises commenced, by music from Robertson's Band and salutes of artillery, which latter did not cease until the meeting closed. The stand was decorated with the national flag, and on each end was a banner, one inscribed "Loyal National League—a common Union, to maintain the power, glory, and intelligence of the Union;" the other, "Sustain our Brave Soldiers." The platform was girt round with the legend, "Pledged to Unconditional Loyalty."

The Hon. CHAS. KING, of the Council of the Loyal National League, called the meeting to order, and the proceedings were opened by prayer, offered by the Rev. ROSWELL HITCHCOCK. The reading of the Vice-Presidents and Secretaries, the address and letters, was dispensed with.

ROBERT B. MINTURN, jr., read the resolutions, which were carried by acclamation. Then came music by the band, after which

The CHAIRMAN said: I am now about to present to you one who has a right to claim your attention—for he has shown his devotion to his country by leading her soldiers to the field, and by encountering—what is worse than armed hosts—the prejudices of lukewarm men, half and half friends and patriots—men who, if they had their way, would make a compromise to-morrow with Slavery and all its horrors, and who now, under the guise of peace, would make useless, or worse than useless, the treasures of blood spilled by your children and mine, to vindicate the glorious flag which Rebels would trample down. [Cheers.] Fellow-citizens, I present to you Major-Gen. Fremont.

Gen. FREMONT was greeted with a burst of enthusiasm which continued some minutes. Quiet being restored, he said:

SPEECH OF GEN. FREMONT.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I had the honor of being asked to meet you here to-day, and to address you. I accepted the invitation for the pleasure it gave me to meet you, and for the further satisfaction I would have in using the occasion to say how fully and how cordially I sympathize with you in the object of this meeting. Two years ago you met here and accepted the war inaugurated on this memorable day at Fort Sumter. [Cheers.] To-day, again, the noise of battle rolls around that monumental fort, and we are hourly waiting to hear the thunder of the guns which shall announce that at length our outraged flag has been gloriously avenged. [Applause.] But whatever may be the fortune of the day, no anniversary could have been found more fitting to renew your pledges that there shall be no wavering in your support of the Government, no faltering in the purpose of the North to restore and maintain, undivided and free to all, the whole territory of the United States of America. [Applause.] The public assemblages, of which this is the first, are intended to draw together and to give effect and voice to the opinions and feelings of the people on the great question of the day. We welcome these manifestations as the evidence of healthy activity in the public mind. They indicate unmistakably that the nation is not drifting, but moving with a fixed and resolute purpose—that a feeling of unconditional loyalty is rapidly absorbing all varieties of opinion, and fusing all party distinctions into the single resolve to preserve our national unity, at every cost. [Applause.] But while permitting myself the pleasure of meeting you here and of taking part in this commemoration, I have declined to avail myself of the invitation with which I had been honored, to address you. The subjects on which I had been asked to speak required a scope of comment and suggestion, in which I do not feel at liberty to indulge. I decline to do so in deference to the commonly received opinion that a certain official propriety prohibits officers of the army and navy from speaking in popular assemblies. But more especially I decline to do so, because I was informed, not very long since, that officers permitting themselves to take part in public affairs outside of their professional

ties had been characterized by high authority as "political Generals." [Laughter.] But in giving way to this usage, I am not at all satisfied that it is the correct view of the scope of an officer's duty in this country, and amidst the disorders of a civil war. Under other forms of government, where the head of the nation shapes and directs its policy, and where the agents and the people themselves simply conform, this suppressed freedom of speech, where it must have expression, necessarily takes the form of revolt, and is consequently more incompatible with the public tranquillity. But in this country, where there is really such a thing as public affairs upon which the nation deliberates, and where the vitality of the system depends upon the fact that every man is expected to take a living interest in them, the case is widely different. Here the Government simply executes the will of the people, to which it is expected strictly to conform, and concerning which it ought, consequently, to be well informed. [Applause.] The military power is only an executive arm of the sovereign in this country—the people; and instead of forming that military power into a distinct and separate class, and creating barriers between the army and the people, everything ought to be done to keep the soldier one of them [applause], having common interests and common opinions. [Applause.] To isolate them and their sentiments would be, or might be, highly dangerous to our free Government, and in this country there should be no such thing as a military party. [Applause.] We have lately seen with what satisfaction the country received the resolutions of our troops in the field—how timely and important was their influence—not the less because it was evident that they had no idea of merging into the soldier their sympathies and privileges of the citizen. [Applause.] And it is absurd to say that in a war of ideas, a conflict of principles, in a revolution which is taking the shape of a reformation—a revolution which involves the civilization of the age, and to the results of which the friends of liberty are looking with the deepest anxiety and interest in every part of the world—in all this momentous struggle, that the men most actively concerned, taking the most active part and making the costliest sacrifices, should have no opinion. It is idle to tell us that the opinions of officers in important places have no influence on the conduct and the results of the war. Nor does it always happen that a General has the choice to render his service to the country in the more congenial duties of the field; he may be placed in charge of a distant and rebellious province, separated, disconnected from the seat of the Government by the conditions of the war, and where necessarily he must be much governed by his own convictions and his own opinions. Would it reflect—does it reflect on the soldierly qualities of that General that he had the ability to institute a policy which enabled him, in the midst of rebellion and anarchy, to hold in subjection to the laws and to reduce into good order and healthy propriety, and to restore in its commercial relations to the Union, the great metropolis of the South. [Applause.] Men who, by quitting with you here two years ago, subjected themselves to the charge of being political Generals, have sealed with their lives their devotion to this cause. [Applause.] Then Schenck and Mitchell and Baker spoke to you here. [Applause.] The one has given his blood and the others their lives in your service. [Applause.] Were they the less good soldiers because they came to you here, on the eve of battle, to get inspiration and to find encouragement and renewed strength in the assurances of your support? [Applause and cries of "No."] It is not here that the name of "political General" can be considered a stigma or a disqualification. [Applause.] Already shadows begin to people this place, and the spot has become classic ground. Two years ago this was one among the many beautiful openings which decorate your city. You had no Bunker Hill to serve as a field-altar of patriotism. In this splendid

city—this radiating center of the material prosperity of the country—there was wanting the traditional spot in sight of which no man could, without shame, fall below the spirit of the day which gave it an historic fame. [Applause.] But here already you have sermons in these stones—there you have your field-altar. [Cheers.] In sight of that statue of Washington you come here to-day to renew your pledges—you promise that in his hand, which two years ago held up to your indignant gaze your discarded and outraged flag, you will yet place the standard which shall be raised in victory over the walls of Sumter. [Great applause.] You promise that you will never agree to a dismemberment of the country which he left you—[Voices—"Never," and applause]—and that next to the crime of the traitors who are striking in arms at the life of the nation, you will hold the guilt of those men who, placed in responsible positions, do not use every effort to direct, with most terrible energy, the power of this country to destroy the Rebellion. [Tremendous cheering, and three times three cheers for Gen. Fremont.]

The CHAIRMAN: I now, fellow-citizens, present to you one of our own representatives—a man who has proved that bullying could not hurt him. He was a member of Congress when this great crime was committed, and the experiment was tried on him which has been tried on others, by some of the yellow-faced Southern chivalry—to bully him, by talk of pistols and bowie knives. He told them, "By the grace of God, I carry my defenders here (pointing to his breast), and if any man wants to fight, let him come on." [Vehement cheers.] I present to you Mr. Roscoe Conkling.

SPEECH OF HON. ROSCOE CONKLING.

Loud applause greeted Mr. Conkling, who said:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: You have assembled to commemorate an event which must be memorable in history to the latest syllable of recorded time. You celebrate an anniversary which will be canonized, or cursed, till the holiest fountains of human sentiment are forever frozen or dried up. You solemnize the recurrence of a day which will stand in the calendar hereafter as a day which did much to manifest the nothingness or immortality of human rights. [Cheers.] The 12th of April, 1861, was a day of darkness and despair; our sun was eclipsed, and no man could see to read the dial. It was a day of humiliation and death, but through that death there came a glorious resurrection and ascension. When Sumter fell,

"You, and I, and all of us fell down,
And bloody treason flourished over us."

[Cheers.] But two years have passed—two years of plots and counterplots, of gain and loss, of glory and disgrace"—and undismayed and undaunted, you come to say to doubters and to enemies, as William Tell said to his native mountaineers,

"We hold to you (the hands you first beheld,
To show they still are free." [Cheers.]

It seems to be a maxim in the economy of Providence that the trials of a nation are in the ratio of its destinies. If it be poor and powerless, if it have no empire and holds no position envied by the world, it may escape the blasts of war, and languish for long intervals in unmolested calmness. But if it be rich and powerful, if it claim as its own one-tenth of the globe, if in the lifetime of a single man it grows to be the foremost Power in all the earth, it must accept perils and struggles as the price of its greatness and success.

If beside being powerful, a people has set up institutions in which no trace of aristocracy or kingship is tolerated, it has voluntarily elected to make its own soil the theater of a contest which has been waging since time began between oppression and liberty. It is the mission and foreordained destiny of a people assuming to found and maintain a democratic Government to wrestle and grapple with

the foes of freedom and equality within and without; and the struggle now raging in America is only the old battle for human rights transplanted from the Old World to the New. [Applause.] We had no right to expect to escape it. Why should we?

Why should we hope to elude the evil passions and instincts which have led men the world over to seek the destruction of equal rights, and the aggrandizement of the few at the expense of the many?

We knew that nowhere had men relinquished superior and exclusive privilege without a contest; why should they do it here—here in the new world, the place reserved for republican government to vindicate itself forever, or to wither from the world?

Time, and civilization, and government, had their morning not in the west, but in the east. Dawn flushed, and yet centuries rolled by before light broke upon the Western Continent.

Why was this?

Why was half the globe kept hidden away behind a trackless waste of waters, till the other half had been dug over and over, to bury its dead. Why were progress and barbarism mewed up so long in the old world, to solve in blood the problems of humanity?

Perhaps the new world was reserved till mankind should be fitted for a higher and better dispensation.

Perhaps it was designed to withhold this inheritance from man, till the race had been tried, and instructed, and exalted, by the wisdom and the folly, the virtues and the vices of wasted ages.

If this was the design, we can understand our mission, and accept our responsibilities.

If it is the mission of the American people to make their continent a garden for the growth of a new civilization, higher and better and truer than the world has ever known, we may understand the logic which permits blood to stain our land.

If we maintain successfully that man needs no mortal master but himself, we bring forth a great new truth, and no great truth was ever yet born into the world without great pangs.

It costs great pangs to plant the germ of free government here, and the manner in which the experiment began might well convince the mind of faith that Providence had charge over it. The task was undertaken by a group of men which no previous age could have produced. They were the victims of all the bad systems of government then extant, and they were called to devise a new system just when the world was all ablaze with political intelligence.

All the past was before them, and the French Revolution was just delivering its terrible message to mankind.

Two forms of government had already been tried here.

The Colonial system had been tested and thrown off.

The Confederate system had been fairly tried, and found fit to live only through the revolution it supported. All the members of the Confederacy had found the need of a stronger system, closer knit. I say all—all but South Carolina, who put herself up to be raffled for by the contending parties, to belong to the British Crown or the American Republic, as the one or the other should succeed in the struggle of which she was to be the safe spectator.

The Fathers of the Republic, in their almost inspiration, saw clearly that a Government, to be enduring and free, must be a union, not of States, but of the people; not a partnership, nor a club of thirteen members, but an eternal wedlock of the nation.

They fashioned their work accordingly—they excluded carefully all State rights which would militate against the supremacy of the Federal Government.

Some of their acts seem prophetic now, when men here in New-York, "leading politicians," as Lord Lyons calls them, are proposing to array the State against the General Government, and to nullify the act for enrolling soldiers, and other acts of Congress.

An effort was made to put into the Constitution some way in which men could oppose the General Government, under cover of State authority, and yet dodge the halter, but the halter was carefully kept in.

Luther Martin, the Attorney-General of Maryland, went home from the Convention and delivered to the Legislature of his State the following statement, which I commend to those politicians with a snaky name, who, according to the good book, must be the most subtle of all the beasts of the field [loud cheers and laughter]:

"By the principles of the American Revolution arbitrary power may, and ought to be resisted, even by arms if necessary. The time may come when it shall be the duty of a State, in order to preserve itself from the oppression of the General Government, to have recourse to the sword: in which case the proposed form of government declares that the State, and every one of its citizens who act under its authority, are guilty of a direct act of treason; reducing by this provision the different States to this alternative, that they must tamely and passively yield to despotism, or their citizens must oppose it at the hazard of the halter if unsuccessful—and reducing the citizens of the State which shall take arms to a situation in which they must be exposed to punishment, let them act as they will, since if they obey the authority of their State Government, they will be guilty of treason against the United States: if they join the General Government, they will be guilty of treason against their own State.

"To save the citizens of the respective States from this disagreeable dilemma, and to secure them from being punishable as traitors to the United States, when acting expressly in obedience to the authority of their own State, I wished to have obtained as an amendment to the third section of this article, the following clause:

"Provided, That no act or acts done by one or more of the States against the United States, or by any citizen of any one of the United States under the authority of one or more of the said States, shall be deemed treason or punished as such; but, in case of war being levied by one or more of the States against the United States, the conduct of each party toward the other, and their adherents respectively, shall be regulated by the laws of war and of nations."

"But this provision was not adopted, being too much opposed to the great object of many of the leading members of the Convention, which was by all means to leave the States at the mercy of the General Government, since they could not succeed in their immediate and entire abolition."

With such views the Constitution was formed, and went into operation over a country infinitely diversified in soil, climate, and production.

The attractive portion of the Republic was the South. Its breezes were bland, its climate was almost perpetual Summer, its soil needed only to be tickled with a hoe to laugh with a harvest. All these charms had enticed the rich, the indolent, and the idle. The seat of population, and allowed representation in Congress upon its chattels, of course it became the seat of political power. For three-quarters of a century it ruled the country absolutely, and enjoyed almost a monopoly of public honors.

But it relied upon unskilled, unpaid labor, and there was the bane of its success. Though it started with everything, it was outstripped by free labor, which started with nothing.

Political questions continually arose, and were always decided for and by the South. While this continued, the South was quiet, apparently, yet ever plotted against the time when decisions might result in favor of other sections of the country. At last that time arrived for once. [Applause.] A President not of Southern choosing was elected. What of that? Did the leading managing men of the South fear that their rights or their slaves would be taken from them? I deny it. After some association, in Congress and out, with those who plunged the South into Rebellion, I deny that they for a moment feared that Abraham Lincoln would or could disturb their institutions.

But there was another thing they did fear. Their personal ambition would be thwarted, and also their plans for prostituting the Government for the benefit of their own "section," as they called it.

The time had come when they and their sons could no longer hold all the offices, civil and military, at home and abroad, and when they could no longer manage the foreign and home policy of the Government so as to pick a quarrel with anybody

who happened to have an island or anything else that they wanted to steal. [Cheers.]

They were to be deprived of these things if they stayed in the Union; if they went out, they saw visions of new wealth and power. A new empire in the tropics dazzled their eyes. An unlimited and unrestrained license to steal land from feeble neighbors on the South and to plant it with Slavery, the reopening of the slave-trade to Christianize the barbarians of Africa, these and kindred objects seemed to them preferable to remaining in a Government in which they must at last divide the monopoly they had enjoyed. Fair play is what they rebelled against; equality is what they couldn't endure; free government put into actual practice is what they would not submit to, and they made a bloody issue to destroy it.

Is not this the old fight over again, the encounter once more between equal rights and privilege, the dying kick of despotism?

Surely it is, and with an aristocratic element in the Government, it was bound to come. You could not check the laws of growth in the North, nor of decay in the South, and hence, in time, the balance of power was sure to change. This was inevitable, and yet the minority would not loosen their hold, without dipping their hands in the blood of their country.

I laid down the proposition that the trials of a nation must be gauged by its destinies, and is it not clear that our destiny left us no course except to resist to the uttermost the bloody raid which we are still repelling?

The patriotism of the people answered that question two years ago to-day. Gen. Jackson believed that there was deity and divinity in masses of men—that whatever a nation affirmed to be true, must be immutable truth. [Cheers.] Never, perhaps, was there stronger proof of the quick infallibility of a people's instinct, than when the heart of America vibrated with the news that traitors had battered Sumter, and trampled on the flag. [Applause.] Did any man among you speak of submission or separation at that time? No; those who could not speak for their country then, were dumb—they dared not speak for treason.

They dared not consort with the Ambassador of a foreign power to betray their country then. They dared not hawk at their Government then, and assail it with the tricks of the mountebank and the pettifogger. Public sentiment would not tolerate it. Why does public sentiment tolerate it now?

Why does public sentiment tolerate it in this proud city, where, beside all higher motives, you have such an enormous stake of money, in the supremacy of the Government? Here, where two hundred millions of debts are due from the South, here where you have for ten years furnished 90 per cent of all the money the Government has had, here where you hold Government securities amounting to more than eighty million dollars, why is it that public sentiment tolerates men who are doing more to help Rebellion than if they had muskets in their hands and stood behind the Rebel lines? There ought to be some good reason why loyal people are doomed to put up with the revilings and hypocritical lamentations and complaints of men who, for the wrongs done their country ought to be daily and nightly on their knees asking forgiveness from God and the mourners.

It is difficult to know what to do with such people. [A voice: "Hang 'em." "Hang 'em."]

Mr. Conkling—No, no. That would violate the wise advice of Dr. Johnson. Goldsmith asked the Doctor whether a man who had disgraced himself wouldn't do well to cut his throat? "Why no," said the Doctor, "if he has disgraced himself, let him go where he isn't known, in place of going to hell, where he is sure to be known." [Great Laughter.] The success these disturbers have in misleading others

shows the justice of the saying that a lie will run a mile while the truth is putting on its shoes and stockings. Suppose their charges and statements are all true, just as they make them, does that justify or excuse them in the course they have pursued? Suppose it is true that the President, and the Cabinet, and Congress, and the Administration party have all done wrong, why should the Nation be murdered and the Government destroyed for that?

The war is for the supremacy of the ballot-box [cheers], and it is only by standing by the Government and maintaining it, that we can preserve the ballot-box, and the ballot-box is the only means of correcting public abuses if they exist. If men are honest in saying that the Government is in unlit hands, let them help to wrest it from the assassins who are aiming daggers at its heart; and when this is done, the people can elect better and more capable men. But what reason is there in allowing the Government to be ruined because the acts of those who happen to represent it for a space are distasteful? [Cheers.] If there are imperfections on the Administration's head, it is no time to rebuke or punish them now. But at any time there is no justice in most of the clamors lately raised for political effect, and I will say a word of one or two of them. It is charged by Secession sympathizers as one of the reasons for assailing the Government, that the Rebellion is the result of agitating the question of Slavery. Suppose it is—is the North, are the Anti-Slavery men of the North, to be blamed or punished for that? Who has agitated the Slavery question in this country since 1850? There was no agitation in 1851 and '52 except by a few Abolitionists, who hadn't votes enough to elect a constable from Maine to Minnesota. We had hushed all agitation then. We had annexed Texas to extend the area of Slavery, and fought a bloody war and paid \$300,000,000 in consequence. We had acquired new territories, but they had been brought in without any restriction against Slavery. We had adopted the Compromise measures of 1850. We had given the South such boundaries as she wanted, we had paid ten millions, and adopted a Fugitive Slave law, which I heard Douglas tell Mason, he (Mason) drew, and made as stringent as he could, and Mason admitted it. What was there then to agitate Slavery for? In 1852 both the National Conventions adopted the same platform, accepting the Compromise measure as a finality, and congratulating the people that the end had come at last of Slavery agitation. The nation went to sleep thinking the negro had been put aside, and that the legislation of the country was to be turned to its commercial, manufacturing, and material wants. Repose and peace was everywhere, when suddenly there came a voice as piercing as a cry of fire in the night, and men started, as they would leap from their beds to see if the house was in flames. What was it? Why, the Missouri Compromise was to be repealed. The Missouri Compromise! That wall which our fathers built between Slavery and Freedom, that great covenant which had tranquilized a continent, and to which every man was pledged and his father before him—was that to be destroyed? Who was to do it? Had any one in the North petitioned Congress to do it? No. Let us remonstrate, let us pray Congress not to do so huge a wrong, not to hoist the flood-gates of agitation, and launch the nation upon a boundless sea of sectional contention. The people assembled in their might, they conjured the majority in Congress to stay its hand, they implored the majority in Congress by the memories of the past and the hopes and fears of the future; they sent to Washington memorials which if heaped together would have barricaded Pennsylvania Avenue. But all to no purpose; the Missouri Compromise fell, and fell with a crash which resounds yet in this bleeding country. [Ap-

plause.] Who did it? Who did it? Who did it? Who, as Mr. Fillmore said, opened this Pandora's box, and let loose every evil of sectional madness and strife? Did Northern Anti-Slavery men do it? Did any Anti-Slavery man vote for it? Was it anything but a monstrous, treasonable, cheat of the Slavery interest? [Cheers.] Who carried the torch of the incendiary, and the knife of the murderer, into the Territories? Who sacked their villages and drenched their fields in blood? Who attempted to force Slavery upon an unwilling people? Who tried to force through the Le-compton Constitution, foul with violence and fraud? Has there been any Slavery agitation in this country for ten years not produced by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise? It was that repeal which gave birth to the Republican party, which filled its ranks with the members of all existing organizations, and gave 1,300,000 votes to John Charles Fremont. If Slavery agitation has contributed to the Rebellion, let the blame be where the truth puts it, and not on the Anti-Slavery men of the North. Let us remember who the incendiaries are, who, after setting fire to the house, complain that those who come to put it out make a great fuss, and agitation, and disturbance generally. But whoever agitated, and however wantonly, what has that to do now with rescuing our Government and our liberties from the uplifted hand of treason?

There is another wicked pretext fashionable now with the disloyal and the false. It is alleged that after Secession began it might have been coaxed to stop by Compromise; and I want to mention one thing on this head to show how much audacity a man must have to assume the ground held by politicians of a certain school in this State. They are protesting that they were for something at the time which, if it had been adopted by Congress, would have averted the whole difficulty. What were they for in the Legislature at Albany? They said that the grievance of the South was, that slaveholders were in danger of being shut out of the Territories where the climate would let Slavery live, and that was the trouble to be removed. They had a plan for doing it. It was called the Robinson proposition, and was urged and supported as all-sufficient by the very men who are now around inquiring who is responsible for the war, and insisting that it might have been compromised. What was the Robinson proposition? It proposed that all the Territories should be cut in two by the old Missouri Compromise line, and that all north of that line should come in as a free State, and on the south Slavery should take its chance; and whenever the Territory filled up with the number of people required for a representative in Congress, it should come in as a State. This was the panacea commended then in New-York by those who now oppose the war. Now let me remind you that the political friends of the present Administration offered the South twice as much as the Robinson proposition, and it was spurned. We offered them all the territory where Slavery could flourish, and offered it without condition. We offered to admit all as a State with Slavery, if it came with Slavery in its Constitution, to admit it at once, without waiting for a white man to move into it, and without any stipulation or understanding that any Northern territory should come in free. The territory thus to be surrendered to Slavery was free by the laws of Mexico. You will see the difference—the Robinson proposition required that the North should have, as an offer, the half of the territory free, and admitted as a State, and further, that the South should not form its territory into a State until, in lapse of time, the census showed 110,000 people there; whereas the proposition offered to the South, in Congress, said nothing about the North having any share, and did not require an hour's delay nor any number of population whatever. Yet the Robinson resolution was thought enough to offer by the same men who now claim that reasonable offers would have been accepted. They know that nothing

would have been accepted except the prostration of the Government. They know that the Crittenden Compromise was defeated by Southern votes in the Senate, as Gov. Johnson stated the other night at your Academy of Music, and as Edward Everett affirmed in Boston day before yesterday. But again, what difference does it make now whether or not if we had done something some other time, something else would not have happened?

There is another plea for opposing the war, which I see is done not only in speeches, but into poetry, here now. It is that the Government party is laboring not to restore the Union, but to emancipate all the slaves even if so doing prevents a restoration. This is believed by some fools, perhaps by some knaves, and possibly by some honest people, but they must be rather pig-headed. It ought not to be believed or countenanced by any who sympathize with our soldiers in the field, and want to see them spared hardship or exposure. When the war began it was supposed that Slavery would be an element of weakness to our enemies—that the fear of servile insurrection among four millions of bondmen would keep part of the masters at home. We had a right to think so. John Brown, with seventeen negroes and a cow, had struck terror into all Virginia. [Cheers and laughter.] John Randolph said in Congress, "The fire bell never rings in Richmond that every mother does not clasp her baby more closely to her breast." Why was this? Because they lived on a volcano, and knew not at what hour incendiary fires would burst forth, enshrouding cities, and painting hell on the sky. Wasn't it reasonable to suppose that an element so dreadful as this in peace, would be fearful in time of war? Wasn't it patriotic to hope and to wish that slave-owners and overseers, might, for fear of slave massacres, be kept at home, in place of going to the battle fields of rebellion to slaughter your neighbors and mine? Wasn't it right to take advantage of Slavery, and manage it to weaken and paralyze our enemies? But what was done in deference to the policy of those who have stolen the garment of "conservatism," and are so pleased with their new clothes that they are likely to strut themselves to death? Why, Generals, "conservative" Generals, began to issue proclamations, and kept issuing proclamations to the slaves and their masters, saying, "Now, slaves, be kind and obedient to your masters; don't you run away, if you do we'll send you back; don't you rise, if you do we'll put you down with the whole power of the army, and don't you go to scaring your mistresses or being disobedient, if you do we'll chastise you for that." The great idea seemed to be to let the slaves know that they couldn't be permitted to take any part in the ceremonies at all. Some of our Generals felt as select and exclusive on that point as the boy did at his mother's funeral, when he saw a neighbor boy cry, and asked him, "What business have you to cry here? this ain't none of your funeral." What was the result of thus guarding Rebel property? In place of an element of danger and weakness to the Rebels, Slavery became an element of strength, and slaves fed and clothed rebellion. While the masters were away in the field, drilling and organizing and putting the country on a war footing, an unpaid laboring population, of at least two millions—for women as well as men are field hands—were at home raising corn and pork, and making cloth, or else acting as cooks, and teamsters, or digging the trenches, building the fortifications, aye, and fighting the battles of the Rebellion. Does anybody doubt now that the slaves have been impressed into the military service of the Rebellion? The Rebel pickets on the Rappahannock are, many of them, black to-day. Yet, for trying to turn slaves against their masters even now, after learning by bitter experience the folly of the past, the Government is denounced, and charged with perverting the war into an Abolition raid. And men say this who pretend to be the friends of our soldiers in the field. I wish you could all stand, as I have stood,

among the fortifications at Yorktown. Whoever visits them will see magnificent digging; he will see a city builded in the ground; he will see a maze of trenches and embankments many feet high, doubled with gattisons and finished with a labor, which sets one counting by the thousands to guess how many white men dug their graves as they burrowed into Yorktown. I would like to look upon the man who dare avow that he feels glad to know that white men drooped and died in those trenches, when black men, used to the heat and malaria, might have been found to do the work in half the time. [Loud cheers.] Yet all are nicknamed fanatics and radicals who have sought to get some help out of the negro race. We are told that it would be a great calamity to free the slaves. Why? Because they would come North. Only think of that! They'll stay South in Slavery, and when they can stay and have freedom too, they'll come North! I believe that if you would drain the North of negroes, you have only to establish Freedom and rights for them South, and they will all go there as naturally as a duck takes to water. I want the North emptied of its black population; I want to see all the negroes North go South, and am willing to have them hold all the land there that's left over after our soldiers who want to stay, and the loyal people are provided for. I would cast out the best Rebel in the South to make room for the worst loyal man in the North, black or white, and I should expect a trade as profitable as Prentice said another would be; he said if the Devil should change places with Jeff. Davis, he'll would gain as much in malignity as it lost in tal-ent. [Cheers.]

It is an easy thing to find a stick if you want to flog a dog; and I wonder sometimes that those who are searching for excuses for shirking their duty are not more ingenious. It is amazing how small a thing answers their purpose. If they can find some man who has been arrested, or some woman of high-flavored reputation who has been searched, they seem to think they have made out a case in favor of leaving the Government to perish. For the madness and pique of party they would bury their nationality under the waves of revolution and leave the annals of free Government like a bloody buoy on the sea of time, warning the nations of the earth to keep aloof from the mighty ruin. If they can find a fraud on the Government which they hav'n't been caught in themselves, they are as happy as a boy with a new top. [Cheers.] If some scamp has swindled the Government in the charter of a steamboat, or the manufacture of army clothing, the whole Administration is held to blame for that, and the war ought to stop to prevent frauds. Frauds are plenty, no doubt; there are miscreants flourishing about your hotels and streets who have fattened upon the agony of their country, who have bought shawls at Stewart's, and diamonds at Ball & Black's, with gains made by smuggling felt and shoddy into the coat the poor soldier relied upon to keep him warm and dry in the pelting storm. There are men who would bribe some twin racial to give them a contract to weave the winding sheet of their country, expecting to double the profit by filling with shoddy and buying the inspector to let it pass. [Groans.] They are not "radical" men as a class, however; they are remarkably free from "fanaticism." But retribution waits for each one of them, to overtake him sooner or later, and meantime, in place of stopping the war, "room for the leper, room!" If we are beset by thieves, let honest men press forward and close the war at once instead of protracting it to give thieves a longer run. Let us make the best and not the worst of our difficulties. Let every man see carefully where his influence goes. Let him look to his selfish interests as well as his patriotism. Do you want to embolden England to fit out ocean bandits to prey upon your commerce, and drive all freights into British bottoms? If you do, you have only to tolerate and support and vote for politicians capable of sitting

down here in New-York and intriguing with the British Minister for the humiliation of their country at the feet of foreign powers. Do you want to breathe new life and hope into rebellion, and the confederates of rebellion at home and abroad? If you do, you need only encourage parties and newspapers, and men, who foment divisions here and publish them to the world. Do you want to retard and prolong the war till foreign quarrels come and the energies of the people are worn out? If you do, you have only to give ear to those who talk about an armistice, or a compromise, or a convention now. You have only to give them countenance, and some other despot will land an army in Mexico, and slap the Monroe doctrine in our faces to make us hang our heads the lower, when we remember that eight years ago four American Ministers ostentatiously assembled at the tomb of Charlemagne, and proclaimed the "Ostend Manifesto." [Applause.] Do you want to bind up the gasped bosom of the nation? do you want to restore permanent and universal repose? do you want to reinstate the Government in its old glory, and the country in its old prosperity? If you do, you have only to bend all the resources we possess to the annihilation of the rebellion. You want no truce till Rebels seek it, and they will seek it whenever John Slidell is as well convinced that the North is united as he is now that Europe won't interfere. You want no compromise but the Constitution of the United States as your fathers made it. That is the ark of our safety, and "except we abide in the ship we cannot be saved." [Cheers.] Let us cling to the ship which our fathers built and launched in darkness and tempests upon the tide of time; let us take heed lest she drift upon the rocks while we wrangle among ourselves; let us feel that our crowning infamy would be to lose the vessel from brawls among the crew. Rather than this should happen, let her go down in the shock; rather let the harpies of Europe pluck the eagle of the sea; rather than pull down her colors ourselves,

"Nail to the mast her glorious flag,
Stretch every threadbare sail,
And give her to the God of storms,
The lightning and the gale!"

Mr. J. W. MATHER sang a song composed for the occasion by George H. Boker, commencing:

"When our banner went down, with its ancient renown,
Betrayed and degraded by treason,
Did they think, as it fell, what a passion would swell
Our hearts when we asked them the reason?"

The chorus, being taken up by the immense throng, had a fine effect.

The CHAIRMAN next introduced the Hon. GEO. W. JULIAN of Indiana as one who would show them how futile was the hope of the Rebels to separate Western men from the Union.

Mr. Julian's speech, which was a scathing rebuke to Secessionists, and to those who countenanced them at the North, was received with vehement applause.

He was followed by Mr. W. J. A. FULLER, who held the attention of the audience until the evening shadows began to fall, when an adjournment was carried.

STAND NO. 5.

Speeches of the Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson, Senator Wilson, Gen. Nye, Prof. John A. Porter, G. W. Elliott, John C. Montgomery, and Col. Nugent.

This stand was located nearly in front of the Everett House, on the north side of Union Square, and had a fine display of banners and mottoes, and the Stars and Stripes floating proudly over it. On three sides were the following mottoes: "Our Country, Now and Forever;" "Pledged to Maintain the National Unity," and "Loyalty." Two large ban-

ners were at the corners, one inscribed "One Flag, one Country, one Destiny," and the other, "The Loyal National League—Pledged to Maintain the National Unity." Long prior to 4 o'clock the space in front of the stand was filled with a dense crowd—one mass of heads nearly as far as the eye could see.

After music by the band, Mr. CHARLES BUTLER called the meeting to order, and a most impressive and fervent prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. BELLOWS. WILLIAM T. BLODGETT read the call for the meeting and the list of officers appointed, and a letter from Maj.-Gen. Dix, which was received with loud cheers. Dispensing with the reading of the resolutions, Mr. Butler then introduced the Hon. DANIEL S. DICKINSON, who was received with tumultuous applause.

SPEECH OF THE HON. DANIEL S. DICKINSON.

MR. PRESIDENT AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is almost two years since I attended a meeting in this very square to discuss public affairs and the condition of the country. It is two years this day since our national flag, our great emblem of hope and promise—the Stars and Stripes—was insulted by an infamous conspiracy and an infernal Rebellion. [Loud applause.] I well remember when the news reached the city. It was a dark and fearful night—the storm was descending in its awful density, well worthy of such an occasion as that. The fiend spirit of the storm clapped his hands, and it seemed as though the evil genius of destruction was brooding over us. Two years have now elapsed, and the sun is shining genially upon us, the air is warm, the germs are shooting, the buds are swelling, the lawns are green, the birds are singing, and the popular heart is redolent with hope and buoyant with promise. [Loud cheers.] Rebellion still exists, but how does it exist? Charleston—the hotbed of secession, the foul point and nucleus of Rebellion, the cesspool of conspiracy—[Loud cheers and laughter]—the heart of all that is infamous and wicked in this matter—if she has not already fallen, it is but a question of time. [Great applause and cheers.] And the owls and ravens who have croaked for blood will soon know that ashes and desolation cover the spot that has so long menaced the integrity of this Union! [Loud applause.] It is said to be the heart of this great movement, and so it is; and the foul and slimy blood it has sent forth through the political veins, had it not been resisted by loyal health, would have corrupted the whole mass. But, thank God, from the time our Stars and Stripes were insulted, from the time our soldiers were butchered in Baltimore, while marching to the defense of the National Capital—from that time to the present, the loyal feeling has been abroad, and it will vindicate itself and prove the integrity of the loyal people. [Applause.] But he would not discuss the causes—he would take the question as he found it. When this Rebellion was organized, the spirit of party was hushed away, honorable men and all came forward to vindicate the integrity of the nation and prove themselves worthy descendants of Revolutionary sires. [Loud cheers.] He stood upon that ground, and he defied all the artillery save the artillery of Heaven to dislodge him. [Great applause; "That's it."] But there were a few miserable politicians who took unto themselves seven spirits more wicked than themselves, and entered in and dwelt there, and the last state of politics was worse than the first. [Laughter.] There are three classes of those who menace the Government. One class have arms in their hands; another class have politics in their heads, and another class with treason in their hearts [loud cheers and laughter], and they are all acting together. [Cheers and applause.] He cursed them all as one, and on them all invoked maledictions. He denounced them in the name of the Union and Constitution and of free Government. He was a Democrat of the straightest sect, but he did not inquire who administered this Government. [Cheers.] It will be time to inquire that when this

Rebellion is over. Listen not to him who cries, "Lo here!" and "Lo there!" and attempts to excite party prejudices, and to climb up the filthy and slippery stepstones of party discipline. Inquire only who is for his country—who is on the Lord's side. We want men to-day that will put down this Rebellion; we want men whose material and moral muscle shall stand out like whip cord, and who will give their lives for their country. [Cheers.] He had recently heard of a great political conference between Lord Lyons and some individuals who had crawled into the Democratic lion-skin. As far as Lord Lyons was concerned, representing a Government who considers government and conspiracy as the same, who called those who stole and those who were stolen from "belligerents" alike, who fit out pirates to cruise not merely on the commerce of the United States, but of the world. He did very well. [Laughter.] But against these 290's of the Democratic party, who are conspiring against the peace of the Union, he had no respect. They are Democrats. Andrew Jackson was a Democrat. He wished they would put themselves into communication with his spirit for a little while, and if the old gentleman carries his cane yet, there would be some rapping. [Laughter.] A voice—"He would hit Fernando Wood on the head." He would say once for all now, and meaning what he said, and speaking in italics and capitals, that for pure and unalloyed rascality, double-distilled villainy, there has not been anything recorded since the days of Pontius Pilate as infamous as that. [Cheers.] Who are the individuals? [A voice—"Wood."] Before he went home he was going to look in the Rogues' Gallery for their portraits. [Cheers.] He was told they were Democrats. They are demon-crats. [Great applause and laughter.] They connived with the representative of a foreign Government for the destruction of their country, and their names shall stand high on the roll of infamy! When the Rebellion broke out traitors had stolen our arms and ships, but now we have raised an army that makes the earth throb with its tread. The hope of the Rebellion for foreign recognition is gone. Great Britain thinks she can see quite as well what is going on at a respectable distance—[laughter]—and France has enough else to attend to. Great Britain did hope that our Government might be destroyed. Her rotten aristocracy, that leans up against her public and her public debt against them, like two drunken men supporting each other—[Laughter and cheers]—and both of them will fall when one gives way a little; they hate us, but John Bright and Cobden and the masses are in our favor. [Loud cheers and applause.] The only hope of Rebellion now rests in the division and disloyalty at the North, on secret societies and parties inaugurated to aid Rebellion under the sacred name of Democracy. They tell us we must fold our hands and hang out the olive branch of peace. He was for the olive branch himself, but he wanted it should be a stout tree, and about eight feet from the ground—[Great laughter and cheers]—and have a stout rope hanging from the end of it. [Renewed applause.] That is the way to treat the leaders of this Rebellion. [Cries of "That's it" and cheers.] There can be no compromise now. He is a traitor to his country, if he is a man of ordinary intelligence, who attempts anything of the kind. This glorious meeting convinced him that the Rebellion was doomed. [Cheers.] But these men are afraid that Slavery may suffer in this war for the Constitution. He would not go out of the way to get rid of Slavery, but you might as well expect to retain the wild game in a country after you have cleared it all off as to retain Slavery after the war of Revolution has passed over it. [Great applause.] The Secessionists have done more in one year than the Abolitionists have done in 30. [Laughter and cheers.] The old Greek Xenophemes, who believed in transmigration, requested his friend to cease beating a dog, for he thought he recognized the voice of a deceased friend in its howl, and so wise

men don't want Slavery disturbed because they think they recognize the howl of a deceased friend in it. [Great applause and laughter.] He would object to Slavery the same as he would object to having a powder house in New-York City; because it is liable at any time to blow us all to pieces. [Loud cheering.] The ocean may cast off her mire and dirt in the mighty heavings and agitations of her bosom; the lightnings may flash athwart the sky; the thunders may war in the distance, and the winds may howl, but the sun of this morn will rise again with the promise of a fair day, and God's children will stand upon the great principle of equality in this Western Hemisphere. [Tremendous applause and three hearty cheers for the speaker.]

After an interlude of music by the band, Mr. Butler introduced the Hon. Henry Wilson of Mass. who was received with three rousing cheers.

SPEECH OF THE HON. HENRY WILSON OF MASSACHUSETTS.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF NEW-YORK: The banners of more than a thousand regiments of loyal men of our country are to-day waving in the beams of yonder rolling sun in the land of Rebellion. Three quarters of a million of our countrymen, of our neighbors, of our friends, are bearing the banners of their country to-day on the soil of the Rebel States. They are around Charleston [cheers]; on the shores of North Carolina; with Banks near the mouth of the Mississippi; with Grant around Vicksburg; with Rosecrans around the immortal field of Murfreesboro [loud cheers]; with Fighting Joe Hooker on the banks of the Rappahannock. Your voices, the beating of your loyal hearts, will reach them; and as they look the foes of their country in the face, they will be stronger because the men of New-York are behind them. [Cheers.] Our brave soldiers in the field in the campaign of Gen. Stoneman, one of our bravest and truest soldiers, say that while they hate the Rebel in front, they despise the traitor in the rear [cheers], and they would delight to hang the one as well as to shoot the other. That is the sentiment of three-fourths of a million of brave men who are bearing the banners of the Republic. The gentleman who preceded me said to you, and he said truly, that the hopes of the Rebel chiefs were in the division of the people of the loyal States. It was my fortune—my sad fortune—to sit with those Rebel leaders in the session of '60 and '61. Then they were preparing the country for Revolution. Day after day we sat in the Senate of the United States—in the House of Representatives—and saw these Rebel leaders plot for the overthrow of the Republic; and I say to you to-day, gentlemen, that their hopes rested upon two things—one, the intervention of England or France through the power of King Cotton, and the other, division in the Northern States. They believed that the City of New-York would raise the cry of "bread or blood"—they believed that the loyal men basting to the defense of the menaced capital would be smitten down on the pavements of the City of New-York. Jefferson Davis, in the session of 1850, said to me on the floor of the Senate that he was assured, in the language of one of his friends in the North, that if this contest came to blows they would throttle us in our tracks. But, gentlemen, you all remember that when, two years ago, the banners of our country went down beneath the consuming fires of the batteries upon Fort Sumter, that the people rose in their majesty, as one man, for the support of the country. [Cheers.] But you remember also, with what amazement the Rebel chiefs received the intelligence of that uprising of the freemen of the North. Russell tells us, in his Diary, that he found everywhere in the South the greatest amazement that the people of the North were united to uphold the cause of our country. But, gentlemen, we know while the people of this country, the masses, rose to sustain their Government; to sustain the cause of human liberty in the Western World, that there were men who bowed to public opinion, but whose hearts were black with

sympathy with traitors. ["That's so."] Misfortunes came upon us, death entered almost all our dwellings, our brave men were smitten down on many battle-fields, trials came upon the people, our hearts throbbed sadly and heavily, and then it was that these men the Rebel chiefs relied upon to come to the rescue and save them—to bathe our streets in blood and overthrow the Government of the country—began to demand a peace that was to blot this nation forever from the annals of mankind. But, gentlemen, thanks to God, thanks to the people of this country! they are rising again, and Copperheadism is sinking away. The beel of the American people is pressing that serpent's head. And now, gentlemen, I say to you to-night that while the Rebel chiefs give up the cause of foreign intervention, they yet rely on the secret orders of the Knights of the Golden Circle; they rely upon men who preach peace, when there can be no peace, with the salvation of our country. [Cheers.] But, gentlemen, my faith is strong—strong in the people of the United States, strong in the progress of human events, strong in Democratic institutions, and strong in that God that rules over the affairs of men. [Cheers.] The cause in which we are engaged is the cause of national unity, and the life of this nation; the existence of this North American Republic, is at issue; and that is not all, the cause of human liberty in America is at issue—the cause of toiling millions of the North American Republic. There is an influence on earth that elevates and adorns human character that is with us and fighting for us in this great battle in which we are engaged. There is not a man who cannot take the cause of our country home with him to-night and read his Bible, and on his bended knees invoke the blessing of Almighty God upon the cause of our common country. It is a cause that a man may be proud to toil for, labor for, and, if need be, proudly to die for. [Cheers.] Up in the interior of this State a gray-headed old soldier lay dying. In his last moments, when life was flickering, he called for a glass of wine, and, holding it up, said: "God bless my country, the United States of America!" and the brave old soldier passed away with the noble and pious sentiment upon his lips. There is not a man in America that may not invoke these utterances of Gen. Sumner, and ask God to bless our country, the United States of America. [Cheers and the boom of cannon.] We should support the Government of our country, not because it is a Republican Administration, for I do not ask it. I would support a Democratic Administration, because my duty to my country demanded it. ["Bravo, bravo." Cheers.] But I am proud to know that they are giving to this Administration all their moral support and all the votes they have to give. On the Committee of Military Affairs in the Senate there were four Republicans and three Democrats, and of 6,825 names that passed before that Committee since the war commenced, there never has been a party division in that Committee. [Loud applause.] We should forget all partisanship and bury all party feelings deeper than ever plummet sounded [cheers], and go for our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country. [Great applause and cheers.] He hailed these Loyal Leagues springing up over the country, and all should cooperate to fire the hearts and nerve the arms of our brave soldiers. [Loud applause.] All party conflicts and organizations dwindle and sink down in the presence of the mighty events which are upon us. The highest and loftiest duty ever committed to men is committed to us now, and that duty is to save our country, to preserve the life of our nation. [A cry—"We will." We will do it. I entertain not a shadow of a doubt of the triumph of our cause. [Applause.] I never have doubted amid defeat and darkness. [A cannon boom.] I have had no doubting faith that this people would rise; that they would stand by their country; that they would cultivate patriotism and toleration; and above all, that endurance that wins and triumphs in the end. I have seen more enthu-

siasm in other days than in this, but we have now come to the sober second thought which is based upon the sentiment and the heart, upon the convictions and the judgment, upon the aspirations and the soul of the people. It is the result of reflection—it comes from trial, and it will live and last, and carry us gloriously and triumphantly through. [Great applause, and three cheers and a tiger for Mr. Wilson.]

Gen. JAMES W. NYE was next introduced to the immense audience, who welcomed him with loud applause.

SPEECH OF GEN. NYE.

He was no stranger to them, and he felt quite at home in the old city of New-York. [Applause.] He had seen her thousands marshalled before, but they were never gathered on a more eventful occasion. He stood in the National Capitol when the news came that Fort Sumter had been fired upon, and he made a covenant that he would never lay down his arms till the glory of that old flag was redeemed. [Great applause.] When he went to his new home, 3,000 miles away, he met there his old acquaintance, the Stars and Stripes—[Cheers]—and there it should float forever. [Great applause.] Whatever may be the fate of the Atlantic slope, there shall be one Switzerland in America. [Loud Cheers.] They would barricade their mountain fastnesses and the old flag should float there forever. [Great applause.] The stars are emblematical of the eyes of a watchful and vigilant people, and the stripes are emblematical of the tribute our fathers paid to Great Britain in two wars. [Tremendous applause.] He thought this Rebellion a good thing. The spirit of '76 had died out. It needed a new regeneration—a new baptism—and that baptism needed to be of blood, and we have got it. Though it may clothe our families in the habiliments of mourning, yet the glorious future will be a recompense for all of our sacrifices. We will have a peace that will be permanent. Rebellion at the South and Copperheadism at the North will be seen walking two by two in the political Potter's field as the pairs went into the Ark, and there they will be buried forever. [Tremendous applause.] And they ought to be. [Applause. Cries of "Good!" "Amen!"] We are told that this rebellion cannot be put down by arms; but these Rebels have chosen the arbitrament of bullets instead of ballots, and we will beat them at that. [Great applause, "We will!"] And the man is blinder than a meadow mole and deafier than an adder that can see anything else than our final triumph in this struggle. [Loud cheers.] They tell us we shall be burdened with heavy taxes; but when he saw a man with a pencil behind his ear figuring up how much he can make by this war he is a traitor. [Great applause, and cries of "Good!" "good!" "That's so."] He wanted to see men inquiring what sacrifices they could make for their country. [Loud cheers.] He had a kind of inspiration that to-day, and at this hour, the Stars and Stripes floated over Fort Sumter [tremendous applause], gold-dealers and Copperheads to the contrary. [Renewed applause and laughter.] Or if it does not now, it soon will. [Loud cheers.] He knew one thing that Copperheads didn't know, and that God they knew a great many things he did not. [Renewed laughter and applause.] He knew enough to love this country with as undying a love as a son for the mother that bore him—[great applause]—and he did not know enough to plot treason against it. [Renewed applause.] He believed that all hell and Rebeldom combined could not destroy this country. [Loud cheers.] Men of New-York! are you ready to maintain this Union? [Cries of "Yes," "yes," "we will."] Then I will go West and report that New-York is all right. [Great cheers.] If there is a man who has not faith enough to believe the country must succeed, let him go among the Copperheads. [Great laughter and applause.] A more dreadful fate awaits all these classes of Rebels than that of

the falling avalanche; theirs will be an eternal, abiding sleep, and one would doubt whether, in the wisdom of God, they will be disturbed in the morning of the resurrection—[loud cheers and laughter]—unless it is to consign them to a deeper hell. [Great applause. "They will file off to the left then."] Fellow-citizens, I thank you for this hearing. ["Go on," "go on."] It is all very easy to say "go on," but where is the wind to come from? [Great laughter.] He had been speaking at another stand, and was tired. But he would go on a pilgrimage from the heaving billows of the Atlantic to the quiet waters of the Pacific to see restored on this continent that glorious and benignant peace that will bring with it one country, one people—and that we will have. He would now ask them to give three cheers for the old flag. [Given heartily, and three cheers for the speaker.]

Prof. JOHN A. PORTER of Yale College was next introduced. He said to-day he was not ashamed to confess himself a citizen of Connecticut. [Cheers, and three rousing cheers for Connecticut.] Copperheadism had made its strike there, and been trampled into the earth. [Loud cheers.] The people of Connecticut and New-York are prepared to stand by the flag until it shall float in triumph over all this continent. [Loud cheers.]

SPEECH OF JOHN C. MONTGOMERY.

Mr. JOHN C. MONTGOMERY was introduced, and related to the audience a story of Mason, with whom he had been acquainted. Mason, on one occasion, on being introduced by Mr. Montgomery as his Democratic friend, said: "Mr. Montgomery, I wish you would introduce me, not as your Democratic but as your Republican friend, for, by G—d, I don't think Democracy is constitutional."

SPEECH OF G. W. ELLIOT.

Mr. G. W. ELLIOT, a merchant from London, was next introduced. He said that the real true, honest heart of the English people sympathized with the Americans in this struggle. [A voice—"Can't see it."] The aristocracy and the would-be aristocracy might desire to see this Government destroyed. England is not easily moved, and it takes a long time to move the great masses, but the great popular heart of that country sympathizes thoroughly with the North in this struggle. He believed this to be the greatest nation on earth, and engaged in one of the greatest struggles the earth ever saw. Their success would not only be a victory here, but a triumph for Freedom all over the world. [Loud cheers.] He had always said that the great City of New-York was loyal, and if he was told they were in favor of Slavery and Secession he said that was a lie! [Cheers and applause. A voice—"Go on; give it to 'em; but *The London Times* won't print your speech."] Laughter.]

SPEECH OF COL. NUGENT, OF THE "69TH."

Mr. BUTLER then introduced Col. NUGENT, who was received with three rousing cheers. He said:

MY FRIENDS: I did not come here to make a speech, but as a spectator, to look on. But I am very proud to see such a spirit of patriotism as I have seen here this afternoon; but I would be prouder to see one half of you down in the Army of the Potomac, to fill up the broken regiments there. [Loud cheers.] I see a great many here I would like as recruits for the gallant 69th. [A voice—"Give me \$1,000 and I will go;" hisses and cries of "Copperhead."] We don't want you, Sir; we want true men and volunteers. [Cheers.] But, gentlemen, I am not accustomed to public speaking and do not feel much at home here; put me at the head of my regiment and I am at home. [Great applause.]

After some remarks by F. E. LAMBERT the vast audience dispersed, the band playing "Old Hundred," and other music, and the crowd giving three tremendous cheers for the Union.

STAND No. 6.

Speeches by David Dudley Field, Gen. Nye, George W. Curtis, S. P. Chittenden, James A. Briggs, Thomas Parsons, Gen. Crawford, Theodore Tilton, and others.

Stand No. 6 was located in the north-eastern angle of Union Square. It bore the motto, "A common Union to maintain the power, glory, and integrity of the Nation." Salutes pealed from the lips of artillery, and at about 4 o'clock Wiegand's band struck up the Grand March from "Le Prophete."

WM. E. DODGE, esq., presided, and in opening the meeting said they were resolved not to cease doing till we should be a united and happy people.

Prayer was then offered by the Rev. THOMAS E. VERMILYE, D. D.

The list of officers of the meeting, the address, and the resolutions were read by JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr., and adopted. After music by the band,

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD, esq., was introduced, and spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF DAVID DUDLEY FIELD.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: If I were asked to express in three words what appears to me the greatest needs of the country at this hour, I should say unity, courage, constancy. Without unity, our great preponderating force dwindles into insignificance. Twenty-three millions wield undoubtedly enormous power, equal to the subjugation of all the Rebels in the rebellious States. But if the twenty-three millions were made up of thirteen millions loyal and ten disloyal, the latter might neutralize an equal number of the former, and the force of the twenty-three millions would really be represented by three millions. So of greater or less proportions. We are, therefore, under a necessity, moral and political, to labor with all our might to produce agreement among our people. The nearer we can come to absolute unanimity the better. To that end, we must lay aside minor differences, and confine ourselves to the few essential, fundamental political truths and rules of conduct that have relation only to the overthrow of the Rebellion. By these means, and these alone, shall we be enabled to collect and use all our resources, for the maintenance of the power, and the integrity of the nation, in its whole territorial extent. But without courage numbers will avail us little. It should seem strange that an exhortation to courage can be necessary among the children of our fathers. Our people have won their way by courage to their present expanded greatness. From the time when our fathers landed on these shores, through all the hardships of settlement, through poverty and want, through perils from Indian savages, through colonial wars, through the war for independence, through the long period of uncertainty and depression which ensued through the political crisis which resulted in the establishment of the Constitution, the war of 1812, and the war with Mexico, courage has been almost a synonym for the American character. But there is a moral as well as a physical courage, which shrinks from no sacrifices, looks unappalled upon reverses, bears with equanimity of delays and mistakes, and carries itself cheerfully, lothly, through all vicissitudes. This kind of courage, not less than that which storms fortresses and leads columns in the field, is needed by us now; a courage which rejects the counsels of the timid and time-serving, spurns every suggestion of inglorious peace, sends none but encouraging words

to our soldiers in the ranks, and makes ready to send more soldiers, and as many more as the country may call, if it call for all we have. And yet, without constancy, courage may fail at last. In the difficult and novel circumstances in which the country now stands, we are liable to have repeated failures. Inexperience leads to mistakes; the difficulty of adjusting untried means to ends proposed brings after it frequent miscarriages, and these tend to beget in the end distrust, and the fear that we may not after all be able to overcome the difficulties in our way. But this is not the proper feeling for a heroic people. Constancy under all fortunes is the great Roman virtue, as the opposite quality is the curse of fickle and secondary nations. "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel," was the prophecy of the patriarch to a portion of his children. So it is now, and so it ever will be; those nations only can hope to stand at the head of the world which never despair. Let us, fellow-citizens, stand together; show the courage of our fathers, and the constancy of our race. So will our future be full of promise. Then shall we rise superior to any disaster and every embarrassment; and our children will thank God for our unity, our courage, and our constancy throughout the perilous times of the slaveholders' rebellion.

Mr. F. was frequently interrupted by applause during the delivery of his address.

The Chairman next introduced Gov. NYE of Nevada Territory, who was greeted with three cheers.

SPEECH OF GOVERNOR NYE.

Gov. NYE said it was not with him a matter of faith; he knew there was enough of the spirit of our Revolutionary fathers yet circulating in the veins of their sons to redeem the flag under all circumstances from dishonor at home or intervention from abroad. The Republic would live, no matter what the ordeal through which it was called to pass. He would address Copperheads, if there were any present, for he came not to call righteous, but sinners to repentance. "They did not want negro regiments!" He would arm a mule to kill Rebels. He would arm the devil himself if he would consent to serve, because that would be meeting his equal face to face. [Laughter.] If the Copperheads wanted to avoid conscription let them stop discouraging enlistments in colored regiments. Those people who talked about resisting the conscription act had better ask themselves whether they wanted the field of war transferred from Virginia to Manhattan Island. Gov. Nye continued at some length in his characteristic strain, mingling humor and argument.

SPEECH OF GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

Mr. CURTIS on being introduced was received with applause. He said:

Mr. Chairman and fellow citizens, two years ago, when that flag came down, for the first time shot at in dishonor, and disgraced by fellow-citizens of ours, and American citizens, there was but one feeling that ran through this land—a feeling so shuddering and appalling, that it was as when a great ship suddenly comes into the wind, and every inch of canvas flutters, and for a moment there is doubt whether the voyage shall be continued or whether the ship shall there go down. You remember, fellow-citizens, that the answer was given upon this place, where we stand to-day. You remember that the first answer was given by eloquent voices, whom it is well for us at this moment to recall, because they were voices of those who have sealed their fidelity with their life's blood. Here, within the range of my voice at this moment, stood the gallant Mitchell, born in Kentucky; and he, after his career, is silent. But you know his story. Here, within sound of my voice, stood the great-hearted Baker. He, too, has sealed the truth of his words. Eloquent in their lives, fellow-citizens, they were still more eloquent in their death;

and they are forever eloquent, speaking to you and me, to our children's children, forever, in our hearts and in our history. That was the response given then. Two years have passed. There are no longer but 800 soldiers, and but \$500 in the Treasury. Did you hear them speak? Then bend your head, and strain your ears this moment, and you shall hear also the thunders of an eloquence that shakes the very air, that dazzles the very splendor of the midnight heavens—the thunders of the belching fires of Dupont and the brave men with him, who now declare that that flag that was pulled down in weakness shall be raised in power; and that as when it fell it was the glittering shroud of every party line, and of all party differences whatsoever, so that now there are, there can henceforth be, but two parties in the land—they who stand in open rebellion, with guns and cannon, against it, and all other men who are resolved, God helping, if they cannot do the work, then they will fall doing it, and transfer it to their lineage to do, and their children's children, until all beneath that pall of party shall appear the flag, and the stars are restored once more to the heavens whence they came. [Applause.] This, fellow-citizens, and not less, is the significance of the hour. It is to answer for us all whether we are a nationality; it is to answer for us all whether there is something below all our ties, whatever they may be. This is a contest which has never changed its character; this is a contest, from the beginning, simply of the ballot-box. It is not long since I stood upon a platform like this side by side with a man whose every political theory I doubt not, differs absolutely and radically from mine. The gentleman of whom I speak is a name known to you, justly dear to you, peculiarly honored by every loyal man in the land at this moment, for it is James T. Brady of this city. [Applause.] With Mr. Brady, bound upon the same mission, we went into the State of Connecticut, not as Connecticut men, but as citizens of the United States, interested to know whether other citizens of the United States living in that State were willing to abandon the Union, dishonor the flag, and consent to common ruin. We stood there side by side simply to defend the ballot-box. Whatever differences Mr. Brady and I had before—and I believe they were radical upon every question—the moment the assault was made upon that box, that instant Mr. Brady and every man like him in the land, and every loyal man of whatever complexion, knew no other party than the party that would restore, by bullets if necessary, by every measure which the Administration, which is the representative of this country, might call for, the ballot-box in all its purity, as the sole and single arbiter of every political difference in this land. That, fellow-citizens, was the significance of the meeting here two years ago. I stand to you, I trust, as a loyal man. I believe only one man in this city has made it his boast that he is not loyal. [A Voice: "Fernando Wood."] It seems to me, fellow-citizens, that he might well have spared his breath; for I never knew that any one suspected that gentleman of loyalty; or, if loyal, he had long ago given it the benefit of the statute of limitation. [Laughter.] But when he says there is no such sentiment as loyalty in this land, I hope the occasion of the hour may take him through the square in which we stand, that he may see the hundreds and thousands of men, whose brothers, sons, friends, stand embattled from the Chesapeake to the Mississippi, by sea and by land, brave men, united by one sentiment, and one sentiment only, and that is an unshrinking and eternal loyalty to the Government which their fathers made, which they have received, and which, by the grace of God, they will transfer unchanged to their children. [Applause.] Now, then, fellow-citizens, understand this one point, that the effort to destroy the Nation, which is no less than the United States of America, is simply an effort to undo the laws of God. The Union of the United States is an instinct. From

the instinct of union in the people the Constitution of the United States sprang. For it was the sentiment of union that made the Constitution, and not the Constitution that made the Union. The Union is an effect of our existence; it is a thought, it is a sentiment, you cannot repeal it, you cannot touch it in the least point, for it is in the heart of every citizen. And when we say Union, and when I stand here and say to you that I belong to the Union, and that that flag stands for the Union, you all understand me to mean precisely what an Englishman means when he says England, precisely what a Frenchman means when he says France—and that is the essential nationality of this people. The Union is the form only, the nation is the soul. To save the Union is to save the nation. And, therefore, at this moment first and most truly in this land the Union man is he who is resolved that there is, that by the grace of God God there shall be but one Government as there is but one nation within our domains—that either this Rebellion shall march trailing its flag over us, until above our shame and disgrace its flag sends its curdling and chilling shadow deep into the waters of the land, or that the people of the United States of America—knowing that the Union is the nation—will march triumphant over them, bearing that flag full of the hues of Heaven, until its ancient splendors shall flash the liberty with which it was first baptized far over the sparkling waters of the North. [Applause.] Stand fast, then, by the Union. Understand that when the Continental Congress declared, adjourning, as it did adjourn, that its best men might make the Constitution of the United States, that the cause of the United States is the cause of human nature. It is therefore that this Rebellion is so envenomed, and therefore that this Rebellion stands so fast and so ably, because it knows that by the necessary development, by the necessary growth of the people of this country, whatever interferes with the rights, with the liberties, with the peace of any solitary citizen in the land, wherever he may be, that touches the liberty of all; and no man will rest, the nation itself will heave, until the rights of every man have been fully vindicated. Now, fellow-citizens, this being so, the experience of two years has shown us two things: in the first place, that this nation is resolved to maintain its nationality; and in the second place, that there is no conceivable result possible to the war in which we are engaged except the absolute victory or the absolute subjugation of the Government of the United States. [Applause.] There is no possible ground between this. The gentlemen who have for a moment proposed compromise do injustice to the policy and sagacity of the men who have reared the black flag of rebellion. The men who have raised the flag of disunion do an equal injustice to the sworn conviction of every loyal citizen in the land. Therefore, understand me, that there can be but one of these two issues. You know which. In your own experience it is written in many a household of yours in the finger of blood—it is written in your hearts, deep down, with all the earnestness of the most vital conviction. Understand that the moral of to-day is the moral of two years ago; that there is henceforth no party among loyal men. We know there is none. We know this, fellow-citizens, that old Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was no sounder man tried by party standard than the old white-haired man whose eloquence has thrilled you this afternoon. Whatever Jefferson Davis was as a party man that was Daniel S. Dickinson. And while the hand of Jeff. Davis was raised to stab us, you know how the tongue of Mr. Dickinson has waved like a tongue of fire, defending and again defending as he has to-day, the outraged honor of our dearest common mother and native land. [Applause.] And you know further, that however good a party leader in his day Mr. Breckinridge may have been, that Mr. Douglas was no way inferior, and his last words were of the most unswerving loyalty to his country and to the Union of the States. [Applause.]

And, fellow-citizens, it was my special pleasure to say, when it was my privilege to be in Connecticut, that if they had produced in Connecticut one known in party times as a Democrat, we in New-York had produced another man known in party days as a Democrat; and that if Isaac Toucey had done all he could, as his own letters testify, to haul down that flag and disgrace it beneath the heel of Rebellion, that John A. Dix—a man, and no less—had not hesitated to make the telegraph and every brave man's heart thrill with the message: "Whoever hauls down that flag, shoot him on the spot!" [Applause.] Yes, fellow-citizens, there we stood then, and here we stand now, unchanged. The ship was tossing then; I grant you the ship is tossing now. But then it was in the wind; now it has laid its course; it has taken the full breeze, and its course is onward. But this understand, that while the tempest howls, while the ship quivers in its dreadful billows red with blood, what is the duty of every loyal man; what will every loyal man do? He will ask himself but one question: Does the captain, do the crew, mean right? Then, if they do, I will not trouble myself to have a better captain I might know; I will not trouble myself to call over the names of a crew that might seem abler than this. The ship is here; the tornado is here; the captain is here; the crew is here—we are all in for the voyage. And whoever, knowing that that captain and crew desire only the safety of the ship and the passengers, whoever for an instant raises a voice against them, whoever himself desponds, desires or endeavors to seduce loyal and brave men of the land from their obedience, mark that man well, for he shows himself a lineal descendant of the Copperhead in Eden, who tried to seduce Eve from her obedience. [Laughter and applause.] Stand fast, fellow-citizens, then, I abjure you; stand fast by the flag which is the symbol of all that is precious to you—of all the liberties you ever had—of principles that at this moment keep this city in perfect peace; that at this moment maintain quiet throughout the broad region that is not touched by the hand of Rebellion. Stand fast by the flag, knowing this, that if we are not enough; that if, in our day, this fight cannot be fought out; that it was a fight which was born in us; it was bred in our bones; it flows in our blood; we are tied up to that issue; and when we lay in the graves those who went from us with bloom in their cheeks, with vigor in their voices, all that can move in man—remember that when they went we held ourselves in camp by our firesides ready to follow; we held ourselves—every man of us who is loyal holds himself, at this moment, only waiting to hear what the Government, which is the representative of the whole people, demands of him, in order to say, "Ready! Ready! I am here!" [Tremendous applause.] Still more: If all who have gone—God rest their souls!—if all who are ready to go, young men who are strong men now, will not suffice, then shall the time come when each one of us will transfer it to his child, as the most sacred duty he can perform, that he shall neither spare himself nor allow his children's children to be spared. And renewing once more our vows to the dear old flag, we will vow—as we do now here—God witnessing the vow, and the shades of the august dead, who have hallowed this very spot with devotion to the Union; and witnessing the heavens, we do here once more vow that, pure as its white, bright as its red, fixed as its stars, is our faith in the national honor, in the national glory that that flag represents; and though it should cost us our lives, they shall be given, and the war shall go on—till that flag floats on every spot of American soil as calmly in the evening air as it hangs before you now. [Great and long-continued applause.]

SPEECH OF S. B. CHITTENDEN.

After music, S. B. Chittenden, esq., was introduced, who said that he had risen from a sick bed to attend the meeting. He denounced the aspersion

that the League was a scheme of Federal office-holders for unworthy ends as false. The Rebellion must be put down by shot and shell—and it could never be done by conditional patriots. Those who were not unconditionally for the war were against it. There was but one question before the American people—victory or death! All other questions had been passed upon and adjourned. We must subdue Jefferson Davis or he us. To divide the Union would be to sever the spinal column of the nation, and death would be the inevitable result. He advocated the setting aside of all party issues, and concluded by adjuring them by the memories of the past, the greater and more glorious promises of the future, to swear that so long as they lived they would be loyal to their country and to the flag that waved over "the land of the free and the home of the brave." [Applause.]

Music followed, and there were loud cries for Fremont. The Chairman stated Mr. Fremont was coming. [A voice, "We don't want Mr. Fremont, but Gen. Fremont."] It was then announced that Gen. Fremont had started to come to the stand, but was unable to do so on account of the pressure of the crowd. At the same time a dense mass of humanity was seen surging and veering round the Everett House, in the midst of which was the carriage of Gen. Fremont, proceeding up Fourth avenue.

Mr. LAMBERT, "the Irish apprentice boy," followed in a few remarks, asking why his country was not represented from the stand, as it was nobly represented on the battle-field, and referred to the repudiation of Fernando Wood and his doctrines by the Mozart Regiment.

SPEECH OF THE HON. JAMES A. BRIGGS.

The Hon. JAMES A. BRIGGS did not mince matters in defining his position. Treason, he believed, attained the blood, and he was for hanging traitors, proven to be such, whether South or North. Mr. Briggs drew a comparison between Connecticut Seymour and New-York Wood, as they sat down to figure up the result of the election in the land of steady habits, and the two surviving enemies in a tarnished city, described by Byron, when they

"Lifted up their eyes and beheld
Each other's aspects, saw, and shrieked, and died;
Even of their mutual hideousness they died.
Who's doing each the other was one upon whose brow
Patriotism had written, 'Traitor!'" [Applause.]

SPEECH OF THEODORE TILTON.

THEODORE TILTON was the last speaker. In the course of his remarks he said that the shadows of even were descending, and a shadow had also passed over our flag, but it would rise out of it resplendent, and its glory in the future should exceed any glory of the past. The lesson they were to carry home was that there should be no sinking of hope for the Republic, but there should be a resurrection for it; for as God lived, liberty should triumph in this land. The Republic was not dead, but the Slave Power that struck the Republic was dead. All wars had their compensations; and, as the bow of promise came out of the stormy sky, so liberty should rise out of the storm of this time, and the East and the West, the North and the South—as did the Isle of Cypress, according to the mythological tale, at the tread of Venus—should blossom with the flowers of peace. Mr. Tilton concluded by saying, "May God save the Republic in His own time, and to His own praise!"

The meeting at this stand, about 6½ o'clock, closed with three cheers for the Flag of the Union.

THOMAS PARSONS, esq., of St. Louis, said that he hailed from a State claimed by Jeff. Davis. He was the first man that hung out a Union flag when that city was under Rebel sway. He was a Jackson-

Van-Buren-Polk Democrat, but not a Buchanan Democrat, nor Copperhead. [Applause.]

Gen. CRAWFORD, one of the men who defended Fort Sumter, was introduced, and gracefully acknowledged the enthusiastic reception accorded to him.

RECEPTION OF THE DELEGATION FROM THE LOYAL LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA.—The Delegation from the Loyal League of Philadelphia, to attend the Great Mass Meeting of Saturday, arrived at the foot of Courtlandt street about noon, where they were met by a Committee of the Loyal Leagues of this city, with carriages. The distinguished guests were taken to Delmonico's and welcomed by R. B. Minturn and the Rev. Dr. Bellows. Morton McMichael, esq., Chairman of the Philadelphia Delegation responded in a very happy and patriotic speech, after which all partook of a lunch provided for their entertainment. From Delmonico's the guests were escorted to the headquarters of the Union League Club, and invited to participate in the proceedings of raising and dedicating a flag. They were then escorted to seats at the various stands. At 7 o'clock the Delegates of the New York Union Leagues dined by invitation with the Philadelphia Delegates at the Astor House. Covers were laid for 150 persons.

When the cloth was removed, speeches were made by B. H. Brewster, esq., Charles Gibbons, esq., Henry C. Carey, esq., and others of Philadelphia, Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, Charles King, esq. of this city, and others. Morton McMichael, esq., presided. There were about one hundred Philadelphians present, among whom were George H. Baker, esq., Judge Kelley, John B. Kenney, and ex-Mayor Charles Gilpin. The affair passed off pleasantly. The Philadelphia guests, during their stay, were waited upon by many of our most prominent citizens, and expressed themselves highly delighted with their reception and entertainment. They return home to-day, bearing with them the best wishes of their loyal friends in this city, whose hearts beat in unison with theirs and whose hands are ever ready to join with theirs in upholding the Union and crushing out this wicked and causeless Rebellion.

A NORTHERN TRIBUTE TO SOUTHERN LOYALTY. RESOLUTIONS

Offered by FRANCIS LIEBER, and seconded by C. E.

DETOLD, concerning the demise of JAMES L. PETIGRU, of South Carolina, and unanimously approved at the Great Mass Meeting of the Loyal National League and other loyal citizens, on occasion of the Sumter Anniversary, in New York, April 11th, 1863:

We, loyal citizens, assembled in Union Square, New York, on the 11th day of April, 1863, have heard with deep sorrow that James Louis Petigru, of Charleston, South Carolina, has departed from this life; therefore,

Resolved, That we will ever cherish the spotless name of this loyal citizen, who has set us a bright example of unwavering fidelity and fortitude in adhering to his country and her sacred cause, with a large mind untainted by narrow state pride, free from sectional prejudice, and proof against the errors peculiar to his native portion of the country.

Resolved, That, born and educated in South Carolina; gifted with talents which entitled him to the highest positions coveted by ambition;

acknowledged by all to be the greatest jurist and counsellor in his whole State; of a genial as well as an aspiring temper, fitted to enjoy the amenities of friendship and inspiring popularity; aware that his interests were not lying on the side he had chosen; conscious that he wanted but a sphere of action to be a statesman,—he nevertheless preferred to give up every advantage and tie, and to remain, from early manhood to a ripe old age, a patriot of devoted rectitude and political simplicity.

Resolved, That in the unhappy period of nullification James Louis Petigru was the acknowledged leader of the Union men in Charleston; and now, in this dire civil war, when his impassioned State pronounced herself by an overwhelming declaration against the country, he alone of all prominent citizens remained faithful and unmoved to the last moment of his life, as a lonely rock in the midst of an angry sea is lashed in vain by the frenzied turmoil of storm and wave.

LETTER FROM GEN. HALLECK, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN ARMIES.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, April 5th, 1863. }

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT,

Secretary of the League, N. Y.

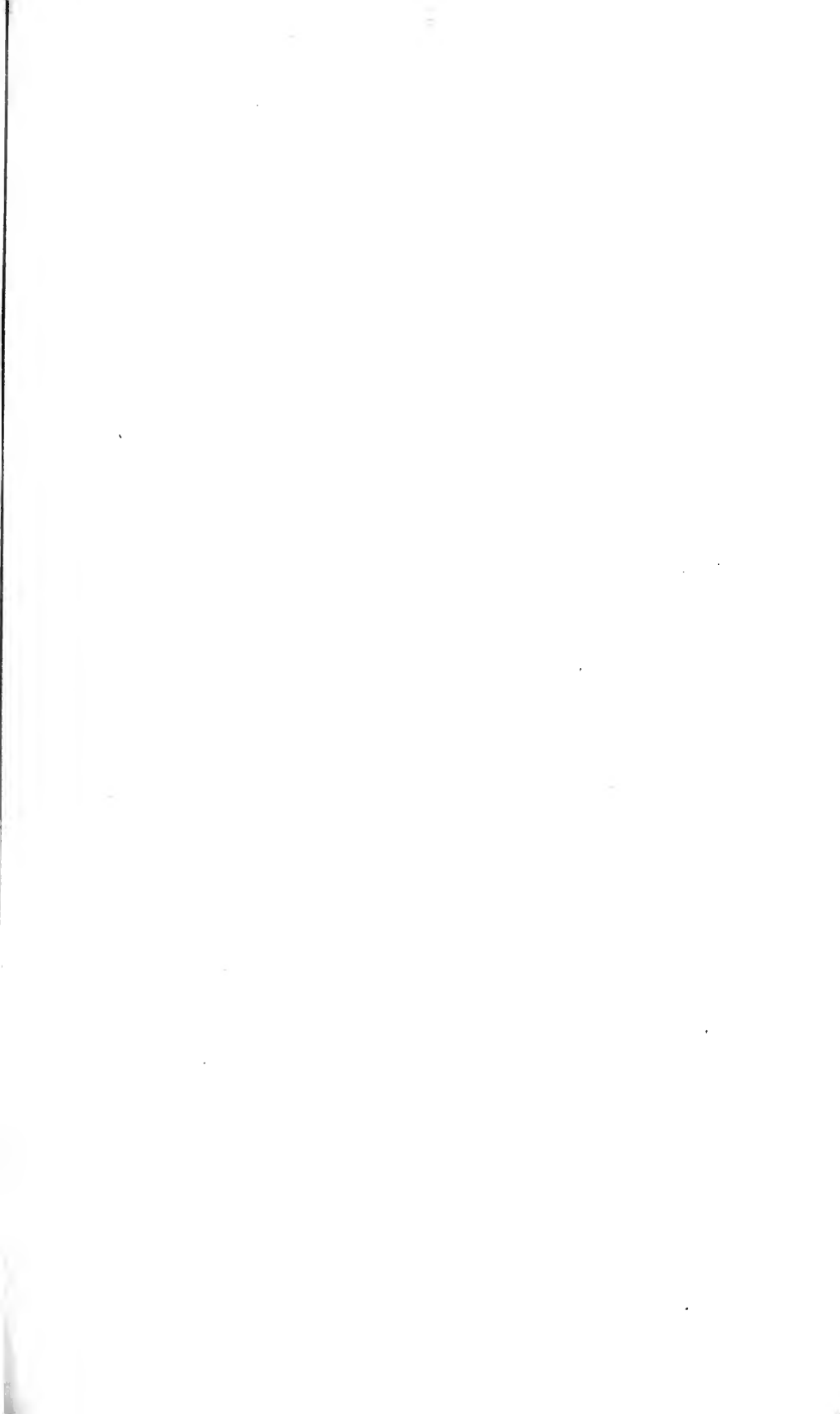
Sir:—I have received your invitation to attend a mass meeting of the Loyal National League in New York, on the 11th inst., and I regret that my official duties will prevent me from being present. I, however, fully approve of the object of the meeting, as set forth in your circular.

I think no man who has carefully observed the course of events in the rebel States, since the commencement of this war, can now hope for any other peace than that which is imposed by the bayonet. The loyal States must conquer this rebellion, or it will conquer them. Loyal men of all parties, and of all shades of political opinion, must unite in supporting the government of our fathers, or consent to see the glory and integrity of this great nation utterly destroyed by rebels and traitors. This rebellion cannot be put down by peaceful measures. Those who pretend to think so are either madmen or traitors in disguise. We must either conquer or submit to terms dictated by the Southern oligarchy. There is no other alternative. The great North and West, with their vastly superior numbers and means, can conquer, if they will act together. If, through factions and dissensions, they fail to do this, they will stand forever disgraced in the opinion of the world, and will transmit that disgrace to their posterity.

We have already made immense progress in this war—a greater progress than was ever before made under similar circumstances. Our armies are still advancing, and, if sustained by the voices of the patriotic millions at home, they will, ere long, crush the rebellion in the South, and then place their heels upon the heads of sneaking traitors in the North.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient serv't,
H. W. HALLECK,
General-in-Chief





I N D E X

TO THIS BRIEF REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS.

(For a full Report of Proceedings, Speeches, Letters, &c., see another edition.)

	Page
Resolutions expressive of the views of the meeting.....	2
Letters from Gen. Scott, Gen. Hooker, and Gov. Todd.....	2
Speech of Hon. Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General.....	3
Speech of Hon. William D. Kelley, of Philadelphia.....	5
Address by Dr. Francis Lieber.....	6
Letter to John Bright, Richard Cobden, and other friends in Great Britain.....	10
Letter to Count Gasparin and other friends of America in France.....	12
Speech of Gov. Morton, of Indiana.....	14
Remarks of General Hamilton, of Texas.....	18
Remarks of Hon. James M. Scovel, of the New Jersey Legislature.....	18
Remarks of Rev. J. T. Duryea.....	18
Speech of Dr. Francis Lieber.....	18
Remarks of Benson J. Lossing, Esq.....	18
Speech of Major-Gen. Sigel.....	18
Remarks of Dr. Rudolph Dulon.....	19
Speech of Hon. Schuyler Colfax, M. C., from Indiana.....	19
Speech of Gov. Pierpont, of Virginia.....	19
Remarks of Mr. Weill and Dr. Foersch.....	20
Speech of Major-Gen. Fremont.....	20
Speech of Hon. Roscoe Conkling.....	21
National Odes, by Alfred B. Street, and George H. Boker, Esqs.....	25
Remarks of Hon. Mr. Julian, of Indiana.....	25
Remarks of Mr. W. J. A. Fuller.....	25
Letter from Major-Gen. Dix.....	26
Speech of Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson.....	26
Speech of Hon. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts.....	27
Speech of Gov. Nye, of Nevada.....	28
Remarks of John C. Montgomery, Esq.....	28
Remarks of Mr. G. W. Eliot, of London.....	28
Remarks of Col. Nugent, of the 69th.....	28
Speech of David Dudley Field, Esq.....	29
Speech of George William Curtis, Esq.....	29
Speech of S. B. Chittenden, Esq.....	31
Remarks of Mr. Lambert, of Ireland.....	31
Speech of Hon. James A. Briggs.....	31
Speech of Theodore Tilton, Esq.....	31
Remarks of Thomas Parsons, Esq., of St. Louis.....	31
Gen. Crawford, one of the defenders of Fort Sumter.....	32
Delegation from the Loyal League of Philadelphia.....	32
Remarks of D. H. Brewster, Charles Gibbons, and Henry C. Carey, Esqs., and others, of Philadelphia.....	32
A Northern Tribute to Southern Loyalty—Dr. Lieber's Resolutions concerning the death of James L. Pettigru, of South Carolina.....	32
Letter from Major-Gen. Halleck.....	32